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# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

GEORGE GUNTON, EDITOR

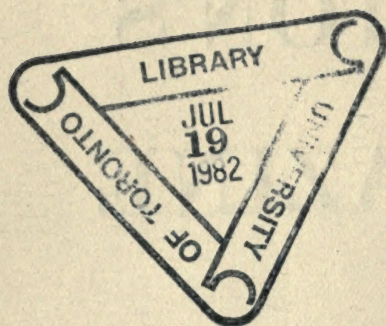
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The three years of low duties, as in the two former periods of relatively free trade, had been years of general depression, of numerous bankruptcies, of labor widely destitute of employment, of enormous and harassing commercial indebtedness abroad, and of stagnation or feeble progress in improvement and wealth at home. The three years' existence of the present tariff have been years of reviving energy and confidence, of increasing and prosperous industry, of extensive and varied improvement by building, establishing new branches of productive labor, etc., and of healthful trade. The aggregate number of employed and remunerative laborers in the year 1845 must be far greater, and that of unemployed, unwillingly idle persons relatively less than in either of the three low-duty years. The revenue also has largely increased, reaching nearly thirty-two millions in 1844, and far overbalancing the current expenses of that year. It will be somewhat less in 1845,—say twenty-five millions,—but still abundant for all legitimate and economical wants of the government.

The prosperity of the country under this tariff has been steadily, palpably progressive, and nearly universal. If New England first felt its impulse, owing to her large investments in manufactures, it has by no means been confined to her borders. In every State of the Union manufacturing establishments are springing up, giving value to water-power, timber, stone, brick, clay, etc., comparatively worthless before, furnishing employment for the carpenter, mason, brick-maker, etc., and giving an additional development to the industry of the vicinity. . . . That this tariff . . . . has worked well and proved beneficent, not to one class or section merely, but to the American people, we cannot doubt, for the evidence is overwhelming.

The beneficent change insured by this tariff is yet in its infancy.—*Horace Greeley on Protection as Illustrated in Tariff of 1842.*



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## A BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

THERE are few countries where public welfare and national progress depend so much upon the business sanity of the administration as they do in the United States. Most of the European countries can commit great errors without involving the danger of a national set-back, because their governments do not depend upon the masses. If Russia has a famine, or if Germany, Austria, or Italy has an industrial depression, the people may suffer, and merchants may fail; but the government is not affected; there the institutions rest on royalty and an exclusive aristocracy. In this country, on the contrary, the government rests directly on the opinions and feelings of the masses. Discontent and distrust may spread rapidly through the whole political fabric, from bottom to top, and an industrial depression that carries hardship to the mass of the people almost immediately brings forth a demand for disintegrating experiments in public policy. Moreover, in our present state of national development, the chief strength and influence of the country lies in the continuity of our industrial prosperity, and this will continue to be the case for a long time.

As a nation, we are in the making; we have not become traditional in hardly any feature of our government except in the democracy of our institutions. In all other respects, we are tentative, experimental, and even restive. Neither in our policy of finance, nor in any foreign relations, nor in our economic inter-state conditions, have we an accepted conviction strong enough to be passed on from one administration to another. All this makes it very important that we acquire stability of character.



We have had a period of extraordinary prosperity. We have reached out in every line of industrial expansion with such marvelous strides that the world is looking on with wonder, and we, ourselves, are in a state of astonishment. The transitions and readjustments have been so swift and sweeping that they have given rise to many and serious fears. Foreign merchants and manufacturers have dreaded our industrial competition, and their governments have feared our political influence. Our small business men are alarmed at the growth of large concerns, and the masses are distrustful of the employing class. For these reasons every one, at home and abroad, has some distrust of the future, and there are prophecies of the failure of the industrial enterprise that has put the United States in the forefront of the nations.

In this state of feeling it is of the utmost importance that everything that may remotely contribute to economic disturbance should be eliminated from public policy. The influence of our national administration, at least, should be, and if we are to get the full benefit of our recent progress it must be, wholly reassuring. It is not reform that is now needed, but confidence—an assurance against any disturbing political experiments. The manufacturing and mercantile business of the country needs the assurance that no tariff disturbance will be encouraged by the administration. This does not mean that the present tariff is perfect, or that there are not many schedules that could be improved; it does not mean that the tariff is not too high on some products, too low on others, and altogether unnecessary on some; but means that it is vastly more important that the domestic manufacturers and business-men should have the benefit of security from disturbance, at least from political changes. This assurance would be worth much more to the prosperity and welfare of the country than even the most ideal correction of the tariff could possibly be. Even if the defects in the tariff were a thousand times greater than they are, they could not be compared to the evils that would follow the disturbance caused by any revision of the tariff, however conscientiously conducted.

Our finances are in a similarly sensitive condition. It



would be difficult to find a more clumsy, expensive, wasteful banking system than ours, yet any attempt radically to change the system at this time would probably contribute much more to disturbance than to confidence and, for the immediate future, do much more harm than good. It is true that our national banks are handicapped through their bond security for circulation and other iron-clad conditions. Their isolation has the effect largely to paralyze their usefulness to the business of the country. In the South and West, where liberal loans are needed, it is most difficult to obtain them. In the sparsely settled farming communities, where money is turned over much less frequently than in the cities, there are naturally much smaller deposits and a larger amount of long-time loans, which make note issues much more necessary. This is intensified by the fact that the small country banks have no intimate relations with the great banking centers of the country. Hence we have the congestion of money at the centers with a great scarcity at the circumference. The consequence is injuriously high rates of interest for the farmers.

This shows the great need of reform in our banking system; yet in the present state of public opinion on the subject, and the very sensitive condition of public confidence, it is even better that the present monetary conditions remain undisturbed than that any serious revision should be undertaken now. Anything short of a radical change would be of no real benefit, and an attempt to introduce such reform into our banking and currency system at the present time would probably have a serious disturbing effect. What the nation needs in finance today is confidence, security from legislative disturbance.

In the domain of corporate enterprise, the assurance of stability is of tremendous importance to the present business conditions of the country. It will not be denied that in the last few years some indiscretion has characterized the movement of corporate reorganization. In some instances, there has unquestionably been a tendency toward too much capitalization. The momentum of prosperity has carried the spirit of daring a little too near the brink. Some concerns have been organized on a basis too close to the highest earning capacity, and there

may have been, in some instances, too little scruple about the methods employed in getting properties together for large integrations; yet, on the whole, the business of the country has grown in a wholesome manner. The very fact that some of the concerns have gone too near the edge of risk, and that it may take several years for some of the largest concerns to get on to such solid economic basis as to be beyond danger of disturbance, makes it all the more necessary that every element of political disturbance should be avoided, since anything that seriously affects the large concerns would probably bring disaster to the whole industries of the nation.

What the nation needs now is that the political atmosphere, the atmosphere of legislation and administration, should be assuring to every legitimate industry in the country. Any fear of administration meddling or legislative disturbance would necessarily be injurious. In all such matters, especially at a time like the present, something should be left to nature. Economic law is very corrective, if allowed to operate. False economic effort will find its corrective in the competitive forces of the market. In the end the effect will be much better, much more healthful, than any arbitrary action by congress or by a political administration.

It is scarcely less important, at this critical time, that in our foreign relations we should be conservative and altogether non-belligerent. A fear, however remote, that we have a "chip on our shoulder", that we are in danger of being easily tempted into participating in the affairs of foreign countries, has a very disturbing effect upon the business of the nation. This might not be so important if all other conditions were free from doubt and fear; but with the doubt and unrest in every other department, the very suggestion of a foreign complication is disturbing. The fact that we have done so much in this direction during the last few years makes a doubtful foreign policy much more dangerous to domestic industry than it otherwise would be.

Presidential elections are always regarded as business disturbing events, because of the uncertainty as to future public policy. Whether the coming campaign will hurry us into a



state of industrial depression, or will serve to inspire confidence and contribute to the continuance of business prosperity, will depend very largely upon the confidence the people have in the business character of the next administration. Of course, it can not be safely predicted now whether the next administration will be Republican or Democratic. Unfortunately, at this moment, there is a growing belief that the Democratic party, under certain conservative leadership, has an even chance of success. This is, of itself, a disturbing element. Everybody knows that the Democratic party, under whatever leadership, is opposed to our present industrial policy. Under the leadership of anybody representing the Bryan wing, every kind of disturbance would be expected. Even under the leadership of the conservative element, an attack on the tariff and violent opposition to business corporations would be expected. This of itself would be sufficient, with the present sensitive state of affairs, to bring on serious business disturbance.

But why should there be any apprehension on that score, at this time? It is practically a foregone conclusion that Mr. Roosevelt will receive the nomination of his party for another term. Then why should there be any doubt as to his election? It is known that no Democrat can be elected to the presidency without carrying New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Indiana, in addition to the entire South, including West Virginia and Delaware. In these circumstances, why should there be any doubt? The obvious answer is, doubt has been created by the conduct of the present administration. No one doubts the honesty of President Roosevelt, but a very large number doubt his sagacity, his stability. It is safe to say that few men ever tried harder to do their best, yet few men have been more successful in dividing the confidence of their friends. It is extremely unfortunate, because it is not attributable to any improper motive. While his administration can hardly be said to be "as clean as a hound's tooth", as he wished it, no one questions his desire for political cleanliness; but good intentions are not always sufficient. When Mr. Roosevelt assumed the responsibility of his present office, it was his avowed purpose, expressed both in public and in private, to do nothing that

should in the least tend to impair business confidence. Nor has he consciously changed his purpose in this respect, yet he has had the unfortunate faculty of doing the very things that contribute to that end.

On the matter of the tariff, for instance, the President has been a veritable disturbing element, without the least intention of being so. On the question of reciprocity, in what he thought the spirit of fairness, he threw his influence in favor of several reciprocity treaties, practically ignoring the advice of the most experienced statesmen of his own party. The impulse of inexperience overruled the influence of the matured judgment of those who would naturally be expected to be his trusted advisers. This was pushed so far that it created definite opposition in his own party, and produced a fear of him among the protectionists of the country. Failing to force the confirmation of a number of reciprocity treaties with European countries, he entered upon what almost amounted to a clash with congress in regard to Cuba. He acted almost as if he regarded the responsibility for public policy to rest upon the president rather than upon congress. Because congress would not do what he wanted, he threatened, and finally carried out the threat, of calling an extra session. But, as if to show a want of confidence in his judgment, the extra session has adjourned without doing what it was called for. In his zeal to get tariff concessions for Cuba, which he doubtless thought was just, he permitted General Wood, as Governor-General of Cuba, to use the public funds to circulate campaign literature and encourage a lobbyist to influence congress in its legislation. Had that been done by almost any other president, it would have been called "corrupt." With Mr. Roosevelt it was called "over-strenuousness"; but no explanation can make it legitimate.

It should be remembered that, at first, the demand was to admit Cuban sugar free. That being impossible, 50% reduction was demanded, and it was only as the result of persistent opposition throughout the whole session that 20% reduction and the more moderate conditions in the present treaty were made possible. The President all along supported the most radical demands. This very naturally shook the con-



fidence of a certain portion of the protection party in the safety of Mr. Roosevelt's administration. A little later when the "Iowa idea", which means a general revision of the tariff, came forward, the President favored that, and for a time it looked as if he were determined to throw the weight of the whole administration in favor of tariff revision. It was due only to an immense amount of personal pressure, convincing him that such a course would cause a serious rent in the party and make a large section of protectionists become his political enemies, that he yielded. He thought revision the proper thing, but the manifest unwisdom of it did much to weaken the confidence of a large section of the manufacturers of the country in his political judgment.

So, too, in the attitude he has assumed toward large corporations. Nobody questions his honesty of purpose, but his attitude has been so belligerent that it has convinced persons interested in the large affairs of the nation that he is antagonistic to large business enterprises. The pushing of the Merger decision and his insistence upon the creation of the new Department of Commerce, supposedly for the purpose of giving publicity to the private affairs of corporations, and dragging them into the courts solely on the decision of a cabinet officer, is creating an impression that he is unsafe; that he is a disturbing rather than a conserving influence. He exhibits the spirit of a radical reformer, rather than that of a statesman and chief executive of a great nation. The function of a national executive is judicial and administrative, rather than legislative, and it should give stability to the government rather than institute reforms in legislation.

All this, without regard to motive, has tended to create in different sections of the country a fear of disturbance rather than confidence in the conserving influence of the administration. The manufacturers and merchants interested in the protective policy are afraid. They are in doubt as to what may happen. They fear the President will not leave matters to congress, but will take the initiative on some impulse, as in the case of Cuba and the "Iowa idea". They are apprehensive that he will encourage, instead of helping to allay, the influence

toward tariff disturbance. Corporations fear that he may at any time pounce upon them. In his zeal to accomplish legislation, the President has shown his impatience with congress. Sometimes his attitude has verged very closely on a spirit of dictation and has more than once been resented on the floors of both houses by the representatives of both parties. To say the least, this indicates a lack of tactful caution in dealing with the great affairs of the nation.

Mr. Roosevelt's startling promptness of action in foreign affairs also tends to create some apprehension. A warship is put on its way to any point with the very minimum of provocation. The swiftness of his action in regard to Panamá is regarded as characteristic of dangerously quick decision in respect of foreign affairs. There is naturally, therefore, a growing lack of public confidence in the stability and business character of the administration. This explains why there is some doubt as to Mr. Roosevelt's carrying New York and some other Eastern states, and why there is some apprehension that, in certain circumstances, a Democratic president may be elected.

All this contributes to the disturbing element in business. It adds uncertainty to public policy. It emphasizes all the other influences toward business depression. There is a feeling, and it is well founded, that the next administration should be conservative; that it should be essentially a business administration—an administration whose policy should be to strengthen the confidence in peace abroad and the stability of industrial conditions at home. If the nation could be assured that Mr. Roosevelt would not encourage, but would discourage, any disturbing tinkering with the tariff, make no extraordinary raid upon corporate business interests, and go very slow about sending warships to other nations, there would be no apprehension as to the election in 1904. With the assurance of a sane, safe, business administration, there need be no fear as to the result of the election, nor of an industrial depression during the next half decade.



## NEW PHASE OF THE LABOR CONFLICT

THE TRADE-UNION movement has been a long, protracted struggle for the right of laborers to act collectively in their own interests. The attitude of the employers has been generally that of unqualified opposition. It was regarded as an uneconomic and unjustifiable attempt to interfere with the right of the employer to conduct his own business. In this country it was for a long time regarded as un-American in origin, nature, and spirit. This was partly true, at least to the extent that the trade-unions are of foreign, not American, origin. They began in England, but so did almost everything that we prize most highly in our institutions and civilization. Our language, the present form of our religion, our jurisprudence, our political institutions, and the beginnings of our literature and our culture—all came from England or the continent of Europe; so that in reality it is no impeachment of an institution merely to say that it was imported. The trade-union, like every other institution of modern life, must finally stand or fall on its merits.

For a long time the opposition of the employers amounted practically to persecution. All the power of discharge and other powers that go with employment were used against the leading spirits of the union movement. The black-list was invented as one of the penalties for being a unionist. This very naturally produced among the laborers a policy of retaliation. They at least adopted the rule of trying to do as they had been done by. The employers made it an offense, to be punished by ostracism, to belong to unions; the laborers have made it an offense, to be punished by ostracism, not to belong to unions. The black-list has been responded to by the walking delegates, and it must be admitted that the laborers succeeded in creating the more damaging weapon.

In addition to the walking delegate feature, the unions have developed the closed or union shop, the boycott, and the union label. These have proved very effective weapons. In-

deed, they have made the unions so powerful that they show a strong tendency to dictatorial usurpation of the contract-making power. The power of labor-unions, through their national federations, has become such that they can well nigh ruin ordinary employers. Capitalists have been very slow to recognize this fact, probably because of their prejudice against the union movement. But in this, as in everything else, experience tells; and employers, large and small, in all industries and in all sections, have gradually begun to recognize the futility, if not the error, of either an individual or a collective effort to exterminate the trade-unions. Consequently, they have begun to assume a new attitude toward the trade-union movement. Instead of denying the right of the laborers to organize, employers are coming to admit that right and to object only to the use of coercion. This is a proper discrimination and really introduces a new phase of the labor controversy. When capitalists object only to the abuse of labor-unions, and to the improper use of the power of organization, and admit that the laborers have the same right to organize that capitalists have, they at once assume an attitude of fairness that commands public respect. They have been very slow in coming to this, but lately they have made rapid progress toward meeting organized labor with rational organization of capital.

When employers began to adopt defensive organization, it was in the nature of a crusade and sometimes an abusive crusade against labor-unions. A national association of manufacturers under the leadership of David M. Parry was conspicuously of that nature, but it has gradually dawned upon employers and the public that abuse is not argument, and that it does not indicate a conciliatory or rational state of mind. Recently a strong movement has set in among employers to form an employers' association for the purpose, not of opposing unions, but of coöperating with them, on the condition that all coercion is eliminated from trade-union tactics. This is a great step in the right direction, and if the policy is continued it is sure to succeed.

The three conspicuous features to which the employers' association object are the closed shop, the boycott, and the



union label. If the employers avoid abuse and meet the issues squarely on their merit, giving full recognition to unions, with the exception of these features, the labor controversy will be elevated to a distinctly higher plane. Of course, the unions will stick very tenaciously to these coercive weapons, because they seem to have been so effective. There is a sense in which coercion may be justified as a weapon with which to fight coercion, just as armies and navies are justified to meet armies and navies ; but coercion, either by employer or laborer, can not be justified in any peaceful adjustment of economic relations, and if the industrial controversy between capital and labor is to become really economic, and merit the approval or even tolerance of the public, it must be conducted on the plane of rational, economic conduct consistent with individual freedom and economic responsibility.

Are the closed shop, the boycott, and the union label legitimate economic weapons ; or are they only the methods of un-economic warfare ? In the recent car strike in Chicago the closed shop was made the test. The corporation yielded to arbitration on all matters of wages, etc., but refused even to arbitrate the proposition for a closed or unionized shop, and to the credit of the laborers, be it said, the unions did not insist. This is a wholesome indication. Can the closed shop be defended ? It means that none but union laborers shall be employed, but it means much more than this. It means that all the rules for the workshop shall be made by the unions ; it means that the foreman shall be a member of, and therefore approved by, the union. This practically takes the management of the business out of the hands of the employers. That is incompatible with business responsibility. It can not endure. Moreover, it removes every element of competition among the laborers and it makes labor-unions compulsory organizations. This, in the nature of things, would ultimately destroy the economic and social usefulness of the union itself.

If unions are to render permanent service to the laborers, they must be voluntary organizations. If any device can be invented by employers or laborers by which laborers can be coerced into joining or from joining labor unions, then these

organizations no longer represent either the best thought or the best interests of the laborers. They must necessarily soon degenerate into mere dictatorial groups. There can be no valid objection to all the laborers in a shop being members of a union, but their membership must be voluntary, or it is destructive of the personal freedom of the laborers. There is no principle in ethics, economics, or equity that will make the coercion of laborers by laborers any better than the coercion of laborers by capitalists; moreover, the possession of any such coercive power tends to degrade those who possess it. Monopoly power creates despotism wherever it exists and trade-union despotism is no better than capitalist despotism. The open shop is as necessary for the freedom of labor as it is for the economic responsibility of management.

In demanding the open shop, therefore, the employers' association is standing upon sound economic ground. It is consistent with the spirit of freedom and the spirit of legitimate, voluntary, economic organization. If the unions can not enlist the laborers in their organization by moral suasion and the advantages that the union offers, then they have no right to force them to join, even if they had the legal power to do so. The open shop or voluntary organization must sooner or later become the recognized method of recruiting labor-unions, and the sooner the leaders of the labor movement recognize this and openly recommend it, the better it will be for the cause of unionism everywhere.

The boycott is another means of coercion that has gradually come into vogue through the persecution labor-unions have encountered, but, with the disappearance of the black-list and other methods of persecution, the boycott can hardly be justified. There may be conditions under which it may be justified as a weapon of war, but it can never be justified as an economic method. Of course it is true that it is a part of personal freedom to buy where one pleases and patronize such business-men as one may choose, from any motive whatever, and it may be admitted to be the right of the free citizen to communicate that preference to his friends; but to go into an organized effort and carry with it the coercion of ostracism



and punishment by fine, expulsion from the union, and, in short, to use all the coercive power of the organization to enforce the boycott, makes it worse than conspiracy. It makes it systematized persecution. A voluntary boycott could seldom do very serious damage, because people will not voluntarily refrain from doing business with any person or firm merely to satisfy the sentiment of another. If a person is conspicuously objectionable, he may be, and if he is objectionable enough, and the fact is generally known, he will be, ostracized; but the trade-union boycott is not conducted that way. It is conducted on the same principle as the closed shop. If the walking delegate or the executive committee of the union decide that the goods of a certain firm shall be boycotted, all the members of the union and federated unions and the unions in other trades are forbidden to do business with that concern. The violation of this edict is followed by all the kinds of punishment that the power of the organization can inflict. In some cases it is a heavy fine; in others, expulsion from the union, which may mean ruin. This is not an economic corrective; it is persecution just as much and of the character as the black-list. In fact, it is a black-list; the only difference is that the boycott black-list is enforced by the pains and penalties of the union, and the employers' black-list is voluntary.

It may be frankly admitted that there are some firms that ought to be black-listed. Their methods are so disreputable and their policy so inhuman that they ought to be shunned by the community; and it may be said with equal truth that there are some laborers who are a disgrace to the labor ranks and ought not to be tolerated in a modern workshop; just as there are some corporations that ought to be deprived of their charters.

But these individual instances do not justify a coercive policy toward all. There are doubtless extraordinary instances in every field of crime that would justify or excuse summary punishment, but to recognize that method of treating all offenders would be to establish mob law and overthrow all the orderly-methods of procedure in society. As a phase of general economic policy and trade-union procedure, the boy-

cott can not be defended, and some day—and the sooner the better—will have to be abandoned.

The union label is a much less objectionable, because a less coercive, feature. Indeed, it has much more of the elements of moral suasion and less of forceful coercion than either the closed shop or the boycott. It is the announcement to the world that the goods bearing the union label are made by union labor. The theory is, and it is to a large extent true, that union labor is superior to non-union labor. As a matter of fact, it is true that in most industries and particularly highly developed mechanical industries, the best workmen are in the union; and the label at least indicates that the laborers received union wages and, in all probability, that they worked under the most favorable conditions that organized labor could command. This is an economic and a moral reason for giving preference to goods so made. Other things being equal, those concerns that pay the best wages and furnish the best sanitary surroundings for their laborers should receive the best patronage of the public; but the union does not stop here. It makes a peremptory demand upon the public that only union labeled goods shall be bought. To enforce this, it introduces the boycott, and tries to make the recognition of the union label compulsory.

The idea behind the union label, like that behind the white label of the Consumers' League, is erroneous. The motive of introducing both was good; it was to enlist the interest of the consumers in favor of union-made goods, because they are made under more humane conditions; but this idea is sympathetic and philanthropic, rather than economic. The union label and the Consumers' League label both ask the consumer to investigate the history of everything he buys. This is neither reasonable nor practicable. It is asking what will not, and can not, be granted. It would require a species of inquisitorial paternalism to carry it out. Economically, the consumer should not be expected to do other than go into the open market for the purchase of his goods, and be governed in his purchase by the price and quality only.

Any system of labeling that seriously interferes with this economic freedom of the consumer would soon destroy the



effect of real competition. Moreover, it is the wrong end of the process to which to apply force for increasing wages or improving the workshop condition of laborers. The free selection of goods by the consumer tends to insure the best price and quality; but nothing the consumer can do will operate backward upon the wages and conditions of the workshop. Those must be effected by the laborers. No amount of scrutiny by the consumers would give better wages to the workers, even if the consumers would make this scrutiny; and no amount of appeal or threat of coercion will force the consumers to do it. Unions may make their members do it, and they often compel their members to buy inferior goods at high prices; but they can never make the general consumer do it. The public may be asked to favor a policy that would give the best conditions the law can provide for laborers both in the shops and their homes. As citizens, this is a proper function of the public; but as consumers it is not their function to scrutinize and investigate the economic or moral conditions under which their goods are produced. This is the function of the laborers themselves.

The improvement in all workshop conditions should be, and must be, the result of demands made by the laborers themselves. That is the only way that the demand can be made effective. It is the function of the trade-unions—that is what they are organized for. It is their duty to use every legitimate economic and social means to accomplish these results. They may properly, as before remarked, enlist the sympathy and aid of the consumers to support their demands; but it is uneconomic and wholly unreasonable to ask or expect the consumers individually to become economic inquisitors regarding every purchase; and any attempt to force them to look for the union label is a species of persecution and distinctly immoral.

It is not to be expected that the unions will drop these three features at once; but if the employers' organization will be temperate in its manner and reasonable in its criticisms, and show a disposition to accept in good faith the labor-union with the open shop and without the boycott and the union label, the attitude of the union leaders will soon become reasonable and

friendly relations will soon be established between organized employers and organized laborers. Abuse and denunciation will tend to perpetuate these defects. With rational criticism and a spirit of fairness they will soon disappear. If employers will show a spirit of confidence in labor-unions, the closed shop, the boycott, and the union label will soon become unnecessary.

This new phase of the labor controversy, which brings organized employers into peaceful relations with organized labor, is one of the most encouraging signs of industrial peace that have appeared in many years. Industrial peace between laborers and employers does not mean a perpetual love-feast, it does not mean that they will always agree on every proposition at first sight, it does not mean that their specific interests will always be identical; but it does mean that both will have the advantage of associated action, that both will have the advantage of the best brains in their group, and that each will recognize the other's right to make collective agreements by accredited representatives. Under these conditions, there can be just as much, and just the same kind of, peace and harmony between organized laborers and organized employers as there is between other bargaining business interests of the community.



## UNITED STATES CONSULAR SERVICE

PROFESSOR EDWIN MAXEY.

WITH THE rapid improvement in the military and naval arms of our government it would be indeed gratifying to record an equally rapid improvement in its commercial arm, the consular service. If the former have, by a change of conditions, become of increased importance, has not the latter become more important also? To answer this question we have but to look at the facts.

Not only the quantitative increase but the change in the nature of our exports, a change amounting almost to a revolution, serves to emphasize the importance of improvement in our consular service. When our exports consisted in large part of the necessities of life, for which there was an imperative demand throughout the greater part of Europe, there was by no means so great a degree of skill required of our consuls in seeking an outlet for our exports as there is required at the present time, when a far greater portion of them consist of the products of mill and factory which must compete with those of European manufacturers. The extent of this change, even within the past ten years can be best appreciated by a glance at our trade statistics. During the past decade our exports of manufactured articles have increased with such rapidity that notwithstanding the large increase in our total exports, the per cent. which they form of that total has doubled. We exported in 1902 manufactured articles to the value of \$403,641,401, of which \$197,000,000, or nearly half, went to Europe, where it must be marketed in competition with the products of their own mills and factories.

If we take a long period of time the increased importance of our consular corps becomes still more apparent. A century ago the value of our total exports of manufactures was but \$1,250,000, or less than one three-hundredths of what it is to-day. There is no country whose export trade demands a more efficient consular corps than does that of our own. The increase in our imports has also led to an increase in the importance of

having skilled and efficient consuls. This assertion will be made entirely clear if we recall that a large part of our tariff consists of ad valorem duties, and that it is the duty of our consular officers to see that foreign goods shipped to this country are invoiced at their full value.

As an illustration of what an alert and honest consular officer may save to his country in this respect, I would cite the work done by the Hon. James T. Du Bois while Consul-General at St. Gall, Switzerland. Soon after entering upon the duties of his new office, January 1st, 1898, he became convinced that there was serious under-valuation in the invoices presented for his approval. The investigation which he instituted revealed the fact that out of 500 invoices, 364 were undervalued to such an extent that from 4 per cent. to 118 per cent. had to be added in order to make the invoice values correspond with the market values on the day of shipment, as the law requires. As a result of this investigation more than \$1,000,000 was added in the first year to our revenues upon shipments from St. Gall alone (a place of which some of us perhaps had not heard before), and the records show there has been added in the past five years fully \$5,000,000. An even greater amount was added as a result of the investigation of Consul J. C. Monaghan at Chemnitz, Germany. Nor must we lose sight of the salutary effect that these investigations exerted upon shippers in other parts of Europe.

The reason we have not had a large number of such investigations is not because they have not been needed but because too many of our consuls are politicians and nothing more, men who were appointed as a reward for political services and not because of any fitness for their position. However lamentable it may seem to men of practical business sense or national pride, the fact is that our consular service is made a sort of out-door relief for political paupers. If a broken-down preacher or politician wants to take a junketing trip abroad his chances for an appointment to the consular service are excellent, provided he can get his Senator to urge his "claims." And no matter what preparation a young man may have made with a view to adopting the consular service as a



career, no matter what his aptitude for performing the duties of a consular officer, it is almost *lèse-majesté* for him to apply or even to hope for an appointment unless he has the backing of his Senator. Even after he has won his appointment, he may grow gray, not in the service, but in waiting while a hundred others of no qualifications are appointed to posts above him, if a vacancy does not happen to occur in one of the positions that "belong" to his Senator. So long as consular positions can be, and in many respects must be, obtained through the medium of an office-peddling agency, it is clearly useless and unreasonable to expect intelligent young men to take a course of training especially designed to fit them for positions in the consular service.

To illustrate the way in which the present method of appointment works out, I shall cite two cases that came under my personal observation. In one of them I chanced to be well acquainted with the qualifications of two of the applicants, one had for his sole qualification the strong backing of his Senator; the other could speak and write the language used at the coveted post. But the one who could speak the language, and was familiar with the commercial conditions of the country to which he desired to go as consul, had no legal residence in the state to which the appointment "belonged;" he was, therefore, not considered. As the successful candidate had no fitness for the position, I called the attention of the Senator to that fact. Without attempting to disprove my statement, he informed me that had the faction to which the rejected applicant belonged triumphed in the state he would have been "taken care of," but as it had been defeated, and as "Philip had a family and was in poor health, so that he couldn't earn anything, we felt that we ought to do something for him."

In the other case to which I refer, one of the applicants was especially fitted both by nature and by education for the position, was heartily recommended by some of the best consuls the United States has ever had, his application was endorsed by the Secretary, Assistant-Secretary and an Ex-Secretary of State; but he had no "claim" upon his Senator, who was therefore luke-warm in his support, and particularly so,

as he was at that time vigorously urging the appointment of one of his henchmen for internal revenue collector and another for a postmastership. He would not therefore endanger the success of these by pressing the consular matter. It also happened that a Senator from another state, which for some time had not received its quota of appointments, pitched his tent upon the White House steps, pointed out the fact that his state was a doubtful one, and refused to move a peg until the President had given him a pledge that the appointment should go to one of his constituents. It was a trifling matter that the only qualification which this constituent possessed for this or any other position was that he had developed considerable strength in the race for the postmastership in his home town, where his wife was very popular, and that he had been promised something in the consular service as a solatium.

We have heard considerable recently concerning the President's reform in the matter of filling the more important positions in the consular service by promotion from among the more efficient officers in the less important consulates. This will undoubtedly be good, as far as it may go, if the promotions be made upon the basis of merit and not upon the basis of mere seniority, or, what is worse, upon that of political influence. But it would seem that the reform should begin at the bottom, instead of at the top; in other words, that it is more important that we have a well-selected and efficient corps from which to make promotions.

If Congress is so unmindful of our commercial interests and of our good name abroad, or so wedded to the privilege of using consular positions as spoils to reward political service that it will oppose a common sense modification of the present policy of appointments, and the President has not stamina enough to resist the "demands" of spoils-seeking Senators, then it becomes necessary for public opinion to force such a change.

This change should include the following specific improvements: Selection upon the basis of fitness for performing consular duties; appointment to a position in the service, and not to a particular place; abolition of fee consulates and consular agencies and of unofficial fees in all consulates; appoint-



ment of none but American citizens ; a more liberal remuneration ; greater permanency of tenure ; and a reasonable assurance of promotion for efficient service.

No argument should be necessary to convince reasonable men that consular officers should be selected upon the basis of their preparation and natural aptitude for consular work, rather than because of their political "claims." Business experience and plain common sense endorse this proposition ; and yet a fight will be necessary in order to substitute it for the present practise, which accords better with Senatorial love for political power and the need of "spoils" as a lubricant for political machinery. It is useless for politicians to argue that an examination, not intended to be a farce, and in which proper weight would be given to the personality of the applicant as well as to his knowledge of the duties of a consular officer, would not be an immense improvement upon the present plan.

If applicants were appointed to a certain rank in the service, instead of to a particular district, as at present, a young man would be warranted in taking a course designed to fit him for the service, since he could be reasonably sure of an appointment without waiting for some particular vacancy. The distribution of consuls among the districts could be made far better by the consuls-general, who are familiar with local conditions, than by the President "by and with the advice and consent of" the Senators.

That feed consulates and consular agencies are a detriment to the service is well known to all consuls, and it is not difficult for one to see why they should be. If a consulate is not worth supporting properly, the sensible thing to do is to abolish it entirely, instead of making it a rider upon commerce. The smallness of the income is made an excuse for extortion, which is not infrequent among officers of this class. As the consul is allowed one-half the fees of a consular agency up to \$2,000, invoices enough to yield that amount are forced through the agency, many of which would otherwise go through the consulate. Thus trade is hampered and the United States treasury loses revenue that would come to it but for the agency.

We have in all 395 consular agencies, 290 of which are in the hands of foreigners, men who, as a rule, know little and care less about furthering American commercial interests, and who are, with very few exceptions, far more interested in obtaining a consular title and shield. Such of these subordinate positions as are worth maintaining should be filled by intelligent and patriotic young Americans, who would thus be trained for the more important positions in the service. As American citizenship is a prerequisite to holding office in this country, it is not unreasonable to insist that it should be so in the consular service.

At the present salaries, many of the more important positions in the consular service a poor man, however capable, cannot afford to accept. This is neither good democracy nor good business policy. Not only should the salaries be increased, but more liberal allowances should be made for transportation and for rent. For instance, the consul to Patras, Greece, is allowed \$96.60 for transportation, while for a family of five the cost of transportation would be not less than \$750, which would leave \$346.40 of his first year's salary upon which to support himself and family. As a result of the small allowance for rent, our consulates suffer greatly by comparison with those of the other great powers. The policy seems to have been to make the consular service self-supporting, and in five out of the last twenty years there has been an excess of receipts over expenditures. Whatever may have been the necessity for pursuing this policy when we were financially weak, there is now no sufficient reason for continuing it. In order that the consular service may appeal to able men as a field for a career and not simply as a recreation at government expense, there must be not only liberal salaries, but also permanency of tenure during good behavior and reasonable certainty of promotion as a reward for efficient service.



## CAUCUS DISEASES

WILLIAM HEMSTREET.

AFTER ALL is said and done, the bottom of our political distress is social "skittishness" about the caucus. Ninety per cent. of the electorate feel that it is an uncongenial place. Class conceit will not mix there any more than it does in countries of aristocratic pretension. This is the great American problem—how to get all of the electorate into the initiative. Right there men who have worked faithfully and practically for reform have found our weak spot.

Considering that the caucus is the very foetus of the body politic, it can be said that Americans have practically abandoned self-government. A government of the people, for the people, and by the people will do for Lincoln and other rural patriots to talk about, where the people are not traitors to their institutions, but in the cities where we are encysted with materialism, where wealth is a craze, the task-master is unrelenting, labor is envious, and there are more mouths than food, and more hands than work, the substantial social elements will not go among the snarling mass of undigested immigration or demi-citizens to suffer affront and insolence. So we are having a government of the "grafters," by the "grafters," and for the "grafters."

The American sovereign must, for one hour a year, sacrifice his pride. Everything has been done by the workers to torture the "nicer" class away from their homes to the caucus and primary, but without success. From eighty to ninety per cent. are childish to the beginnings of law and government—the caucus and primary—which, by their limitations, are the natural hatchery and field of the "grafter." Permanent and cultured residents will not leave their well-garnished firesides, their libraries, social diversions, churches, and occupations to rub shoulders with their humbler fellow citizens in this only forum and fair field of the republic.

High authority has proclaimed that the recent election in New York, having drawn clearly the issue between vice and virtue, has "cast doubt upon the capacity of New York for self-government." And the *London Times* said:

The masses have openly exulted in this dishonest victory and proclaimed its shameful meaning with a cynical indecency unsurpassed in the worst days of the French Revolution.

Yet in this incongruous sea-port our faith is not destroyed in popular government, for the reason that the Tammany plurality did not equal the number of opposing elements, inclusive of the registered absentees, who amounted in well-known fusion districts to more than sixty thousand, which would have given a majority over Tammany if cast, without the aid of the plural candidates' votes. This shows, plainly, the evils of neglecting the caucus, for the only cause of Republican disaffection was disgust for the persistent blundering and egoism of local bosses and leaders and their machine methods with their famished bone hunters, all of whom had been permitted to monopolize the necessary political procedure. The chairman of the city convention that nominated Mr. Low announced in his speech, with his comfortable alloy of gold and brass, that a party could not be run without patronage. That was the spoils doctrine, pure and simple, and that is the basis of the Tammany practise.

So it is figured down to this, that a democratic republic is not a success in our great American cities on account of the social diversities and mercenary motives inherent in segregated human nature that have always and in every land divided the people. All European governments are based upon the unreliability of the masses. A constitution can not make companions of the gentleman and the boor. Our country at large, where the better class reach the government through the town meetings, is all right, but the cities and minor politics that involve directly our peace are not under the control of the more conservative and competent citizens. Indeed, the absence from the caucus and primaries of the scientists, authors, merchants, inventors, bankers, professional men generally,



clergymen, builders, engineers, and all who make up the grandeur of the nation, is glaringly marked. Just the reverse ought to be the fact. Politics abhors a vacuum; where the good keeps out the bad rushes in. William H. Stead has flung at us the taunt that "the Irishman lands penniless at Castle Garden, and in a generation dominates." He dominates what Americans turn their backs on.

The way to cure all political evils and, for the most part, social evils is for all the voters to be in at the beginnings. The caucus should be made official and popular and sustained by the precept and example of the best men. That is what makes our village governments models for the city governments in economy and decency. This we must do or continue to drift away from the design of our institutions. What was the use of dethroning our king, unless we were willing to take up his duty? As a government by the people must be by parties the work of each party is outlined in the caucus. We are not yet morally developed for holy spontaneity. The primaries, conventions, and elections are only the perfunctory ratifications of plans of bosses who are efficiently backed by their subsidized heelers in the caucus whose sway it is impossible to upset by any impromptu action of the people.

Then why do not our reformers go there? They, being a vast majority over the spoilsmen, could without effort purge the caucus of its obnoxious qualities. But they are too thin-skinned. That is the central truth, however homely the phrase. They dream of some divine interposition, which by the practical and simple method, that has been the natural evolution of a century, places everything in their own hands. Composed as human nature is, no other method could be invented; it is as natural to a representative government as surveying a lot is to the building of a house. This writer has known instances where the purest of men have undertaken to put forth a reform ticket, and have been compelled to descend to the most cunning and furtive practises—to fight the devil with fire—because human nature in mass can not rely upon honest spontaneity. No social concurrence can be had, even in a church or sewing circle, without pre-arrangement and

personal manipulation. The public caucus must be preceded by private caucuses and concurrences, on the curb stones, in the street cars, in private houses or bar rooms. That is the method of crystallization or condensation of indeterminate human elements. Formerly the primaries received the obloquy, but since they have become official, in the state of New York, the caucus is the centre of mischief. But that is the only fair field, and to it we all must come and fight out the issues man fashion, just as the chevalier patriotically fights beside the common soldier whom he assumes to look down upon. Citizens who merely cast their votes at the general election are going wrong-end foremost—using the head of the wedge instead of the point.

The people must assemble in a democratic republic. Let the state adopt the caucus also. It being at bottom the American town-meeting, no party or faction would dare to ignore it. The destruction of the ward organizations as the political unit was a cunning move on the part of the machine politicians. The territory of the election district is so small that there is no place of public assembly, so the politicians have everything their own way, for a back bar room is big enough for them. I said to one of the astutest politicians I ever knew, during a temporary alliance with him for my own selfish purposes, that we must get in the respectable element. His reply was—"No, we don't want 'em; we can't manage 'em." This covers the whole American nation, in the cities.

The state adopting the caucus should disfranchise every man who does not attend it. The citizen must do his share of duty to receive his share of protection. Until then, the citizens must uplift the caucus voluntarily. Each election district should have, for each party, what might be named a club, for the promotion of the caucus. This club could be social and political and adopt for its objects the following, perhaps with others:

Promote universal attendance of the party at the caucus;  
Allow no office-holders to be delegates at conventions or members of a political committee;

Neither nominate nor endorse candidates;



Opposing the political walking delegate known as boss or leader ;

Call the caucus later than heretofore, when the responsible elements have returned from their vacations ;

Enforce secret balloting at the conventions.

While these reforms would utterly destroy bosses and individual greed the necessary party machinery could be kept up by the more intelligent conventions that would follow under this system. There must be party organization, but organization need not be owned by a few. There is no trouble about keeping up the party organization and getting out its vote in the country districts, where the whole people are interested. Such election district clubs in our cities would elevate our politics and our laws and their administration. Then we could truly say our fathers builded better than they knew.

But, in that future time, whose mutterings can now be heard, when the cities shall become the political domination of the land, this political apathy will bear some dreadful penalty. They who have lived long enough to compare past with present can see it. This republic has grown so mighty that we need an entirely new class of men to govern it from top to bottom. In the earlier decades of our history, when all were poor, when twenty thousand dollars made a nabob who could serenely enjoy his distinction, our popular form of government served ; but exactly synchronous with the increase of wealth have come lax administration of the laws and official misfeasance, one illustration of which is the Andrew Green horror, a direct result of allowing every vagabond to buy a pistol. There should be a universal disarming, or "hold ups" will be as characteristic in broad day in our cities as on the plains. We give rifles and whiskey to the Indians to shoot down our soldiers and pioneers. Soon the anarchists will learn their physical power. Then the police and militia, as now formed, can be easily wiped out by numbers and desperation. Then, as in the past, we shall feed the fires of riot by the gin mill. The militia needs reforming, and a national regiment should be quartered near every large city. Militia tactics are for long lines in the open field, not for the

close quarters of streets. The men have not the physical stamina of the rioters, and should never be sacrificed by coming into personal contact with the mob. Moreover, they are not compensated for the boycotting and assassination they are subject to. The armories are not within supporting distance of one another, and the soldiers would not be able to reach them if the mob learns its own desperate power. The trade-unions have already treasonably denounced the militia, in contemplation of future resistance to the laws.

These things, among others, show how we need to bring to bear all our civic wisdom and virtue in government, and these problems can not be settled by the present *personnel* of the caucus. It does not matter how many reform associations we have, how many ministerial harangues, or women's clubs or essays or leading editorials; the practical politician will look on with amusement and say, "Blow on, we will do the work and get the plums."

This feat of all the people assuming charge of the caucus is as simple and easy as turning the hand, although it would require some public spirit and vigor. Some day we shall awake from the lethargy of this strange enchantment of abstention and seize upon this basis of popular government. Perhaps the time is not yet ripe, and we may not be driven to it until after some great throe. A permanent caucus house for caucuses, primaries, conventions, and elections should be erected by the Commissioner Elections in every polling district by public authority.



## ASIA IN TRANSITION

W. C. JAMESON REID

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### SECOND ARTICLE.

IN AFGHANISTAN, in Central Asia, and in Persia, Russian dominance is day by day more boldly unmasking. It is an open secret that in Persia today the power of the Tsar is greater than that of the Shah. The entire country is surveyed for a network of Russian railways, some of which are now being built, so that Tahrán and St. Petersburg will soon be connected by them. So secretly and gradually has all this been done that even now British statesmen have not ceased rubbing their eyes and questioning the evidence of their own senses. Another dream that has been ruthlessly shattered is the theory of a "buffer-state" between India and Russia's Asiatic possessions. The futility of this project and the insincerity of Russia toward such a condition, need hardly be more fully exemplified than in her unconcealed attempts to engather Persia in the ramifications of her campaign of expansion. And what is true of China, what is true of Persia, is but an exemplar of what Russia purposes to do throughout Asia. Hitherto she has relied to a great extent upon the more subtle, though none the less successful, methods of diplomacy; only of late, as a tentative "feeler" of the latent strength she has gathered, have been heard the first faint rumblings of the new and more truculent policy which Russian statesmen now feel the moment propitious to adopt, to ensure the further eventuating of Russian dominance.

There can be no doubt that Russia has been holding the "whip-hand" over China, and, in general, the whole of Central Asia as far south as the Indian border—rulers in substance, if not in name—quietly pushing forward to consummation her gigantic schemes for political and commercial dominance in Asia. Already her traders, her spies, her military

officials and diplomatists have threaded through the wilds of Turkestan, and even into Tibet, and, hitherto, other inaccessible regions of Central Asia—sowing sedition in one spot, conciliating the native tribes in another, blinding the Chinese government and the world at large as to her real intent—each and every step, however, a part of a carefully thought-out and pre-arranged plan, formulated years ago in Russian chancelleries, to undermine British influence, which is the only barrier capable of or liable to obstruct seriously Russian policy.

In line with this traditional policy of expansion, it is not difficult to account for the exceptional interest which China possesses for Russia, nor, on the other hand, the similar interest of England. Through a large cycle of the life of the ancient world China has filled a conspicuous place in the political hierarchy. Its political value has long been recognized, and it has, indeed, formed a constant factor in English and Russian politics for the last quarter of a century, if not longer. There are Western powers to which the past, present, or future of China, or of Asia in general, is of little or no concern; but to England and to Russia, China must ever remain an object of especial interest, dividing as they do so large a proportion of Asia between them. Both of these great nations have at least one interest in common, and that is the making of Asia a valuable and productive continent. But, unfortunately, each believes that the development of the other is detrimental to its own welfare. It must be admitted, however, that an English claim of this sort in regard to Russia is more just than when the conditions are reversed. To understand how truly this is so it is only necessary to consider the widely diverging lines upon which the policy of each proceeds. With England, the acquisition of territory, merely considered as territory, weighs but little, excepting as she may be required to do so in order to safeguard her diversified commercial and political interests and the integrity of her Indian possessions. England has in this direction no designs of conquest, and the policy which she pursued toward the late Ameer of Afghanistan, in placing him upon the throne and supporting him there, when the whole country was at her mercy, has demonstrated to the Asiatic



world, or, at least, should have done so, that the interests of England do not so much demand the acquisition of new territory as the consolidation of existing institutions, the maintenance in greater strength and security of the present established order of things, and the permanency of those rulers who show themselves capable of administering their ancestral possessions.

There is nothing in China to excite the cupidity of any English government, for as an ally—even though an inactive one, or a mere commercially-related nation—China is more valuable to England than as a territorial acquisition. But this disposition of China for years past to throw herself into Russia's arms, and the paramountcy of counteracting Russian influences at Peking, had added materially to England's troubles in striving to offset each subsequent advantage gained by the tact and subtlety of Russian statecraft. If Great Britain is to retain her Indian empire—leaving aside any possible conflicting of interests in China or elsewhere—a collision between her and Russia seems not only possible, but assured. There are many today in the British government who do not think that the possession of her Indian empire adds anything to England's power. She has never derived any real benefit from it, and the Indian expenditures exceed the revenues. With this fact in view, it is not only misleading, but downright fallacious, to assume that in taking an active interest in the political and commercial questions of the Far East, England is doing so with expectations of territorial aggrandizement. English interest, furthermore, wherever it is exerted, is in favor of free trade, and it asks for itself neither protection nor any advantages which are not equally and as freely offered to all the world. Although it is patent that the commercial policy of other nations is more or less protectionist, with a consuming desire to obtain exclusive use of all the new markets they acquire, it is not possible for them to say that the British commercial policy is hostile or unfriendly to them. This being the case, there can be no doubt that, preferably, England would rather that China and other Asiatic countries should remain politically independent than to be saddled upon her as is India. She is strong and able enough to compete with any commercial

adversary who may rise up against her, and under the circumstances of China maintaining her integrity, could reasonably hope to hold her own in trade competition with other countries; this being assured, the nominal question of ownership is insignificant so long as the question of trade policies does not suffer.

This is England's present-day disposition in the question, but, on the other hand, it is not possible to lose sight of the fact that Russian disposition must also be considered an equally important factor in the situation. And it is here that the shoe pinches most. It may safely be assumed that Russia in open or covert aggression upon China is but plainly working out the shrewd schemes which she has sought to fructify for more than a century. It may be that the *vis inertiae* of the East, the traditional and hereditary antipathy to change (which seems to belong to all Asiatic races), and the mutual watchful jealousy of the two great nations with vital interests at stake, may prevent, at any rate for some time to come, the accomplishment of all that the Russian promoters of this great undertaking purpose. It is not a consolation-grant to England, however, to learn that the spread of Slavonic aggression is but temporarily checked rather than permanently arrested. Throughout the world the opinion is held, and as freely expressed, that Russia's influence in Asia is on the increase, and that Russian troops can attack British India with an excellent chance of success as soon as the Tsar gives the order. The most disquieting feature of the situation is that this constantly increasing advantage of Russia in Asia is only too true a fact; it is only necessary to review the principles governing Russia's actions in contrast with those of England to realize the inimical and dangerous future effects which further Slavonic growth is liable to produce. With Russia, while territorial aggrandizement and the increasing of the area of her Asiatic possessions is of paramount importance, trade conditions, and the commercial exploitation of new territories which she takes over, are looked upon as potent concomitants. If the pursuance of this policy was marked by liberality there would be in it not a little to commend. Unfortunately, however, it proceeds on lines



widely diverging from those followed by England, for it has been the custom of Russia in the past, and doubtless will continue to be so in the future, to rule out of her possessions foreign competition by imposing arbitrary and practically prohibitive nationalistic restrictions.

The inevitable result of this stringent attitude toward the trade and commercial intercourse of alien nations is patent; it is possible, therefore, to estimate how the eventuating of Russian dominance in Asia would have a world-wide effect. The acquisition of valuable territory in China, such as the rich province of Manchuria, which is at the present time essentially Russian in all save name, and the application of this restrictive method not only would be a serious blow to English commercial interest in that country, but other nations must suffer correspondingly. If England gained either a sphere of concession, influence or possession over this territory, she would accord to the people of the United States, as well as those of other nations, the same rights of entrance and trade as allowed the people of England themselves. Today this liberal and generous policy enables us to sell goods as freely in India as the English people enjoy.

On the other hand, the fruition of the Russian program in China, and her possession of, or influence over, any considerable part of that country, would mean that the rights and advantages which the civilized nations of the world have spent tireless years in wrenching from Chinese exclusivism would go for naught, and that the door of trade which the nations of the West have succeeded in pushing open would be shut against all but distinctive Russian interests.

It is difficult at the present time to predict what the future of China will bring forth, with its reflex action upon the whole of Asia, but it can not be denied that political considerations have greater weight here than in almost any other country in the world. She lies between the powerful Asiatic possessions of England and Russia, and in the light of but recent happenings can not help sharing the anxiety of the earthenware jar which was compelled to float down the stream with its companions of brass. It is probable that should no further as-

saults be made on her integrity, China in the future, as she has done in the past, will pursue an independent policy, looking first to the one side and then to the other to gain the favor or deprecate the wrath of her powerful neighbors. Although the menace of Russian aggression never grows less there is reason to believe, in spite of the fecund growth of alarmist rumors, that at the present time the full force of her influence will not be thrown into the international scale in opposition to collective civilization, while the peaceful and friendly disposition of the English government is notorious.

Apart from political considerations, and assuming that China will be allowed to enter upon a less conservative reconstructive era, there is every hope for the future, could this Russian menace be removed. But in spite of the present complaisant tendency of her statesmen to protest that Russian policy in Asia has no menacing features to other nations with vital interests at stake, it is only necessary to follow the course of Russian policy in Asia for the last century to see what little faith may be placed in her most solemn diplomatic asseveration, while her unscrupulous disposition to break the plighted word when it serves her purpose has ever been a predominant feature of Russian political policy. And it is this insatiable lust of Russia for expansion—however the ethics of international fair-dealing may be distorted to subserve her purpose—not only as applied to China, but to the whole of Asia in general, which must ever provide food for the alarmists who view with apprehension the rapid spread of Slavonic dominance in the East.

One need but look at the map to understand plainly the fears which haunt the minds of British statesmen when there is a tremor of more than ordinary character in the smouldering volcano which may outburst with fearful violence at any moment. The eventual success of Russia in China would so increase her grasp on the political situation in the East as to double, ay, and quadruple, the mighty power she already holds at her command throughout Asia; indeed, to the most casual observer, such success means complete commercial and political dominance in Asia. Possession of large tracts of territory,



or the ownership of strategic points, would give Russia a fearful preponderance in the Asiatic world. Speaking of Great Britain alone, the eventuating of Russian supremacy in China and Central Asia would most seriously menace not only the further growth, but the very existence of that nation in the East. Nor is this an exaggerated idea of the subject. The onward march of Russian aggression has constantly gained ground through four centuries, marked by no serious setback. For years she has had to bear the collective affronts and political hostility of every European nation, in spite of France's lately-manifested friendliness. But slowly and surely her diplomatists have worked out their plans of intrigue and coercion until today she holds the strong-hand over Europe, and with the other menaces the whole of Asia.

These are the conditions as they exist. Can England stay the seeming inevitable ending? and if so, for how long? How long the future alone can tell, but in the light of the detrimental effect that Slavonic dominance in Asia would have upon the interests of all other nations concerned in the commercial and industrial development of that continent, it is not possible to look with indifference upon any sequence of events seeking to undermine British influence. Lord Salisbury, speaking while premier, some months ago, on Great Britain's policy in the Far East, referred to Russia's expansive growth as "striking at the heart of England," of "a blow that might bring England to sudden downfall." Among continental politicians of the higher order the ideal of a ruined England is not an England ruined all at once; such a world-calamity is fraught with too serious consequence to the international poise. A suddenly ruined England would be as suddenly followed by disturbances of every sort, everywhere, too tremendous for contemplation. Downfall for England by successive stages is the desire of England's competitors wherever the desire is directed by patient and intelligent calculation. And if one is to judge by results, it is this "gradually encroaching policy" that Russia is pursuing in Asia.

The repeated declaration of Russian statesmen that Russia does not intend to profit herself by England's disadvantage is

but diplomatic dust thrown into the eyes of the world to place Russia in the advantageous position of a charitably-disposed and greatly-misjudged nation. This is official, lying Russia, and even if, as said, Russia does not intend to profit by England's embarrassments from time to time elsewhere throughout the world, at the same time it is certain that Russia will continue to do in the future what she has in the past—to seize upon these fortunate occasions to obtain results which it may be safely assumed will not be disadvantageous to Russian interests. Great Britain has, it is true, become mistress of all South Africa, but she has paid for this by a notable setback in Asia, and it can not be said that her Indian empire is as safe today as before the Boer war. That British statesmen recognize this alarming fact is manifested by countless straws showing how the wind blows. In the strained relations which have existed between Russia and Japan for several years, the influence of a third power can be readily traced, and that power, England. The open forming of the Anglo-Japanese pact but a short time ago was nothing more than the formal announcement to the world of a tacit understanding between these two powers which had existed for some time past, both governed by the common consideration of upraising an insurmountable barrier to the further consummation of Russian policies, in so far as Eastern Asia is concerned at least. At the time of the promulgation of this treaty it was hailed as the most important international incident that had occurred for some years. Time has only served to strengthen this first impression, and in considering the political and commercial future of Asia, its political significance can not be overestimated. Undoubtedly this jointure of interests will in due time work unmistakably to the betterment of conditions in China and along the entire Pacific coast-line of Asia, if the laudable vigilance of its inspirators is not relaxed in the future.

Russian plans in the past have doubtless been formulated (which really accounts for the success which has attained them) upon the expectation, or, at least, supposition, of a lack of combined effort among her political and commercial rivals. The condition of affairs in China for many years past have all



tended to confirm her in this belief, and her statesmen have reasoned with characteristic accuracy that Russian plans were not endangered so long as her expansive policy was combatted by individual effort, rather than by a unity of interests. By forming a combination of their respective interests, and jealously guarding any intrusion upon them, England and Japan have done much to abolish this state of things; furthermore a staggering blow has been dealt to Russian influence in China and Eastern Asia from which even Slavonic subtlety and diplomatic potency will take some time to recover.

The initial effect of this movement to counteract the alarming Slavonic activity of the last quarter of a century has in it certain elements which can not fail to give solace to those who would take an optimistic view of future political and economic conditions in Asia. Its far-reaching and beneficial effects have been quickly manifesting themselves in the renewed strengthening of England's position in the Asiatic world. At a single bound, despite the injury to her pride in South Africa, despite German aggressiveness, despite Russian cunning and the might of Russian acreage, England has recovered much of her former prestige and influence in the Orient. In no other country than in the United States should this important fact be more a subject for congratulation, realizing, as we must, that English interests are to a great extent identical with our own, especially so in China, where they seek to accomplish the very ends for which our government has right along contended, namely, the maintenance of China's political and commercial entity and the preservation of the "open door" in favor of equal rights to all nations with discrimination toward none. In fact the alliance of British and Japanese interests in Eastern Asia is embodied in a policy which threatens no one, and which, indeed, merely enacts in practise the principles to which all the great powers have hitherto signified their willingness to pledge themselves.

## THE REALISM OF GUY DE MAUPASSANT

PAULINE CARRINGTON BOUVE.

It is not yet so long after the tragic death of Guy de Maupassant that his literary memory has become vague or indistinct, even in the United States. Who has not been an admirer of his flights into the skies of romance; who has not been a deplorer of his fall?

As a novelist, it is true, there is no doubt that he was comparatively little known on this side of the Atlantic. As a short-story writer, his fame translated him into every language, and his favor was as wide.

Although he followed the path beaten down by his famous master, Gustave Flaubert, and though he fell into many of the faults committed by Flaubert, yet De Maupassant never mistook the painful detail of pedantry for flowers in the field of art, as did the author of *L'Education Sentimentale*.

That he commenced his career as an imitator, almost acknowledged, of Flaubert, his first stories, such as *Boule de Suif*, *En Famille*, and *La Maison Tellier* prove. But that he, in contradistinction to Flaubert, grew in form and in style as in years, such others as *Mademoiselle Perle* and *Monsieur Parent* attest. The harshness of his style was softened as his experience and personal interest in life increased. Born into literature as a realist, with many of the faults of realism, he remained, it is true, a strong naturalist. Abortive characters troubled him at first, but he soon left the realistic extremes and painted the world as he saw it every day in the week, not as it happened to be during the epidemic of some crime or disease. M. Brunetière, in his essay on the "Shorter Tales of De Maupassant," says in regard to this change:

"Without doubt he remained a naturalist, if one is willing to understand by that term that no man is more exact in description in fewer words, or a more vivid painter of reality. His descriptions, a little long in his novels, are naturally enough much shorter and more precise in his short stories.



He excels in seeing well, and in seeing with his eyes, not through his imagination or through books. He puts no more in his characters than is necessary to distinguish them and, as the expression goes, to make them stand out. This is little enough, too, sometimes, but this little enough suffices him to compel us to avow the perfect resemblance to nature. M. Daudet appends to his men and women a nickname, a fad, or some other earmark; he applies an epithet to them; it is 'la nominée Delobelle'; it is 'Jack' (with a k); it is 'the professor Astier-Rehu,' with the severe movement of his jaw. Zola heaps detail upon us; what he wishes to show us he describes from all sides and in all its aspects; shows the profile view, three-quarters, full-face; description gains by it, perhaps, but clearness, precision, and resemblance lose. M. de Maupassant observes his model—without informing us of what he is doing, or forcing us to go over in our turn the study which he has made of it—until he has found its characteristic trait or the essential distinction, that which separates it from all other beings and from all other objects that resemble it. In consequence he is, of the three, the greatest naturalist; he is more of a naturalist than Flaubert himself, in whom romanticism lived to the day of his death; and it is among the shorter tales of M. de Maupassant that one finds the little *chefs-d'oeuvre* of contemporary naturalism."

To go back a little way, although M. de Maupassant's at first necessarily crude and severe realism—the realism drawn from contact and association with the school and person of Flaubert—was, in defiance of the master's teachings, toned down to nature in De Maupassant's later work, yet he never infringed on the idealistic side of the literary gutter. His fidelity to nature, his perfect sincerity in deduction, vision, and comprehension from and of the world as he saw it, and, what was of primary moment, the clear instinctive insight that he possessed for facts of nature that were neither tiresome nor extraordinary, kept him still a nominal realist, and made him a perfect and unmistakable naturalist. Why was this? Let M. Brunetière answer and explain:

"He is a naturalist, finally, for the reason that he avoided,

almost as carefully as he cared about the construction of his plot, bringing into his romances or telling in his stories any marvelous adventures. I say almost, instead of saying quite. That is because there are several ghost stories, inexplicable or unexplained at least, such as the 'Horla,' for example, which might well be signed by Prosper Mérimée or by Edgar Allan Poe. But more generally, those men who resemble all other men, you and myself included, who are only different from us by a shade that is almost imperceptible, or even by having had an adventure which we have not had,—those are the heroes, if the word is not too ambitious and 'idealistic',—those at any rate are the principal characters of M. de Maupassant: country gentlemen, hunters, fishermen, department clerks, a low-Norman peasant. You can find also plenty of old maids, country-women, mothers of families, actresses, and so on *ad libitum*. A strange and bizarre crowd, in which everyone of us feels himself somewhere at home. To their value as works of art, the novels and tales of M. de Maupassant, the tales more than the novels, join an additional documentary value that is not possessed by half of the novels and stories that claim to have it. When some day some future antiquarian shall seek among our novelists of the nineteenth century, correct and reliable information on the state of mind of one of our contemporary peasants or small townsmen, I believe that M. de Maupassant will be one of the few to whom he will turn, if he is not the only one; and the information sought will be much more reliable if it is found in his works, than if it should be taken from *La Terre* by M. Zola, or from *L'Immortel* of M. Alphonse Daudet."

Intense naturalism was, indeed, the first trait of De Maupassant's literary character, and the first characteristic of his literary work. It is so strongly defined that it sometimes more than overshadows other fine qualities of his style. His philosophy was a quality of his literary ability, if I may make use of the expression, which many a time sought a hiding-place under the shadow of nature that hung over his work. And nature was at once the father and the foe to his philosophy.

That he was a philosopher, M. Brunetière admits; nay,



he even goes so far as to say that, on account of this very philosophy of De Maupassant, he might consider it expedient to go to war; for Tolstoy and several other men stand in the path of the light that De Maupassant holds, and public opinion in France is more or less strongly against any such theory. De Maupassant was attached to and always urgent of the belief that, to quote himself, "His physical appearance contains all of a man's moral nature."

M. Brunetière is in no haste to accept this sweeping statement in its entirety. And, indeed, no matter how great the power of a man's observation, is it not more than even a "protean philosophy could accept, to believe that he can read his brother's soul upon his face, once, again, and forever? A mind is not revealed in this manner, or it were not a mind worthy of the name."

An animal's expressions of grief, pleasure, fear, and anger, the four chief sensation-effects of those observable under the level of man, are easily distinguishable. When these feelings are genuine and sudden in mankind, we can also perceive their presence with little or no difficulty. But is the human no better than the beast? What is a mind if it has no control over itself or over the exterior expression of its own sensations? Let us see what M. Brunetière says on this subject:

"'All' is altogether too strong a term. No matter how piercing the regard of the observer, is it really true that that which we have farthest in us, hidden in our hearts, projects itself so clearly to our exterior appearance that it is easily read there on our faces, in our gestures and our attitudes? It would seem that only sensations which are unpremeditated and extreme, such as anger or despair, could be so quickly discovered and revealed by the mimicry of art. \* \* \* But it is no less true that this idea of considering the moral nature of man enveloped, so to speak, in his physical nature, does honor to the perspicacity and ingenuity of M. de Maupassant; and I add that, in searching for the reason for the certain depth of psychological observation which we must attribute to him, I can not find one that is satisfactory. There are some senti-

ments, of the most delicate and subtle nature, in the expression of which, with the exception of M. Daudet, so many of our naturalists have come to grief, that M. de Maupassant has proven to be translatable by naturalism, if the necessary talent existed in the writer who described them. Contrary to the analysts, he simply hid his psychology instead of making a display of it, and just as 'the painter who paints a portrait does not show the skeleton,' he has made of his moral observations the secret support and interior substance of his works. He never declaimed against the infamies which money incites, but he wrote *L'Heritage*; he never philosophized on the depth and the slow progress of remorse in a vulgar and common soul, but he wrote *La Petite Rocque*; to show us how and at what point in a low and obtuse nature to strike in order to awaken the sentiments of patriotism, he wrote *La Mère Sauvage* and *Mademoiselle Fifi*.

"In this study of the human soul, have we the right to reproach him with having taken only a morbid conception and idea of mankind and of life? Yes and no. Yes, in so far as his pessimism, as in first stories, very similar to that of Flaubert, preceded nothing but the superb disdain of the artist for that part of humanity that cares nothing about the art of literature: that part of humanity to which it matters little whether a phrase is well or ill made, and which dies as it has lived, without ever having heard of 'Madame Bovary.' I willingly deplore the fact and the humanity; and, as far as in me lies, I could desire that it would interest itself in those things that interest us. But I only write, all of us only write, to persuade this portion of the people to find interest there. I can not feel like treating it as an inferior class of animals; and because it will not read what I write, or because it will not accord me sufficient praise,—and this is what enraged Flaubert above everything else,—I can hardly come to the conclusion that life is evil. It seems to me, I repeat, that there is something of this nature in the first productions of M. de Maupassant; and, after all, such sentiments are natural at twenty years of age. Youth is the time when generosity is natural to the heart, and intolerance to the mind. But M. de Maupassant has lived since



then, and has seen much, has thought much; his pessimism has changed its nature; and, founded as it is to-day on experience and meditation, I again repeat that it gives to his naturalism a great deal of depth."

Some of the naturalism of the author of *Bel Ami* is almost idealistic realism; it is, at least, a realism in which the enthusiasm of discovery in nature amounts very nearly to the ideal. In his preface to *Pierre et Jean De Maupassant* gives a vivid description of the causes that made him, and that convincingly prove him, a realist, and the almost ideal effects they draw from his own naturalism: "The smallest thing contains something of the unknown. Look for it. To describe a fire that flames, or a tree in a plain, let us remain before that fire or that tree until they no longer resemble to us any other fire or any other tree."

"This," says M. Brunetière, "is purely æsthetic sympathy. With still more reason, it adapts itself to people, and, as M. de Maupassant said elsewhere, it adapts itself best to the grocer and the porter across the street. The effort that the artist himself makes in attempting to render them exactly, and, before that, to understand them, creates a sympathy between them and himself. He studies them with passion and fervor, he copies them with love, and we can feel all this in the portraits that he draws from them. It is that which makes the interest of several stories like *La Bête à Maître Belhomme*, and like *Le Trou*, which have no other signification or bearing except that of a '*tableau de genre*.' \* \* \* It seems to me \* \* \* that this is the rôle of æsthetic sympathy in the naturalistic novel, and I do not really know whether the naturalists have always understood this. The novelist can interest us with the most common occurrences of everyday life, not to say the most vulgar, not only by interspersing his own personality through his work, but even if he can feel the pleasure that can be contained in a glass of wine drunk by two workmen at the corner of a little table, or the moral suffering in the rudimentary intelligence of a peasant woman or an old vagabond. \* \* \* Other forms of sympathy are not unknown to M. de Maupassant; and, as an example, it is difficult not to re-

mark in his stories the prominent place accorded to several questions which might be called social, like that of the origin or the psychology of crime, and that of the limits of common sense and of folly. How is crime born, and what influence have temperament, circumstances, and occasion? This is the subjects of *La Petite Rocque*. Or, again, what part have we all sometimes in the crimes of others? This is the subject of *Un Vagabond*. \* \* \* How many of M. de Maupassant's good and bad qualities belong to him? In other words, are either of them classical or national characteristics? I appreciate the delicacy and tenderness which, before it showed itself in the Russian novel, belonged to English fiction, and was given to us by the author of 'Adam Bede,' by the author of 'Jane Eyre,' and by the author of 'David Copperfield;' I have often regretted its lack among our French romanticists. But, for one reason or another, with them it invariably degenerates into silliness or sentimentality; and it is very certain that it is entirely lacking in the tales of Voltaire, for example, or in Le Sage, in *Gil Blas* and the *Diable Boiteux*. M. de Maupassant can easily answer any who accuse him of being rather ironical than sensitive; and if he adds that, as he has the qualities of a good French story-teller, he does not see why he should trouble himself trying to appreciate those of a Russian novelist or an English humorist, he will not be very far wrong."

"'Know thyself' was Greek philosophy. It was a step in life. 'Be thyself' is modern philosophy, and it is better than the old, for by it a man may die. And if he die according to the new philosophy and live according to the old, then will others know him after he is dead, and what was grief to him shall be joy to the latter generations. Moreover, he shall attain to the perfect self-existence that he realizes he has some vague right to, only after trying to *be himself* for many years. And what is true of man is true of art; for man is nature, and true art is a copy of nature.

"Only that literature has survived which has become independent, formed its own standards, and then followed them faithfully, constantly elevating them to a succession of new



heights, as far as its exponents could see above them. And that literature which has remained servilely subject to the art and laws of art of other and foreign literatures and nations, has faded away before the world. De Maupassant was right when he wished to be only himself. Had he compelled himself to imitate he would already have been forgotten.

"Finally," says M. Brunetière, after completing his criticism of De Maupassant and the minor realism as displayed in his shorter tales, "that which distinguishes M. de Maupassant among all our younger writers, that which gives us again in him one of those qualities, which, for our part, we appreciate the most among the classicists, is the great care he has always exercised in giving us only that part of himself in his work, which was the artist, and in refraining from the mistake of putting his personality, his character, and his life into his books. We all know the rage that there is nowadays to put one's self before the public; if an author does not mention his souvenirs of college, he talks of the manner in which he composes his fiction. \* \* \* M. de Maupassant never speaks of himself in his books; or, at least, if he does put in anything from his own life, he does not tell us so, and no one has the right to look for it, much less to know it. This, again, is the method of a true naturalist, who understands himself and his doctrine, and who knows that a thing is not *true* merely because it happened; who knows that *notes* and *documents* do not insure the fidelity of an imitation or the naturalness of the style; but that, on the contrary, they tend, rather, to destroy the illusion. But it is also the method of a classicist, who knows very well that, if works of art endure and live, it is on account of their own intrinsic merit, outside and independently of those theories of art of which they are the expression, as well as independently of the stir that may or may not be made about them."

## MAETERLINCK

ANNA MCCLURE SHOLL.

MYSTICISM has rarely taken a deep hold upon humanity, since the majority of men prefer to look upon the world with wide-opened eyes. The inner vision, remote, intangible, and prophetic, seems a futile thing, capable chiefly of distorting the seer's judgment of earthly affairs, and thereby impairing his citizenship.

Yet, occasionally a mystic arises whose vision because it is sure and beautiful is also compulsory. Few read Ruysbroeck the Admirable, or concern themselves with Plotinus and Novalis and Swedenborg, but the spiritual descendant and pupil of these teachers, Maurice Maeterlinck, because he has interpreted their teachings through the medium of a lucid beauty, has become a force in this generation. Not only has he given to mysticism what seems a lasting dwelling in literature, but his ideals of spiritual truth have gained acceptance in an age apparently given over to a material and commercial conception of life.

What is the message of this young Belgian to his time? And in what form has he delivered it?

He is known chiefly as a writer of echoing, shadowy plays, incoherent dramas of the soul. But to understand their spirit and dramatic intention, it is well to study first the two or three remarkable volumes which embody Maeterlinck's philosophy.

Like all philosophies it appropriates the wisdom of past ages, its originality lying in the method of presenting its treasure. In "The Treasure of the Humble," in "Wisdom and Destiny", and in "The Buried Temple" Maeterlinck concerns himself chiefly with human destiny, as illuminated or obscured by the two supreme phenomena of love and death. But many others before him have thus considered human destiny. Maeterlinck is original because he seeks inspiration, hope, and courage in the very twilights which close in the vistas of life. He has glorified mystery as essential to a sane conception of life and to wholesomeness of living. If one ventured to sum



up his service to his age it would be that he had aided in restoring to a practical generation that sixth sense which is the sense of the mystery underlying the simplest affairs of life. "The mystery of life is what makes life worth living"; and this whether we seek it at the tribunal of science, or in the halls of art, or in the kitchen where the mother works among her children and the clock ticks the homely hours away.

"The Treasure of the Humble" opens with some thoughts on that enveloping silence from which the soul issues to manifest itself. To understand Maeterlinck's conception of silence is to understand the hush, broken only by re-iterant whispers, that lies upon his earlier plays.

He has unbounded faith in the soul's power when once awakened and allowed expression, because the soul transcends appearance, transcends knowledge, is, indeed, one with mystery. Science may reduce all things to a comprehensible system, robbing the world of its fairy-tales, but it can never rob life of mystery, and by that law, not theology nor creed, nor church, but mystery itself will be the last refuge of religion, as it was its cradle. But between the fetishism of the savage and the wisdom of the latest sages are the loves and deaths of a thousand generations.

It is in the loves and deaths of humble, obscure people that Maeterlinck seeks the very source of his philosophy, learning more by the rose's birth than the comet's rush. He asks why go seeking great events to illumine life or explain destiny, when a woman's smile, the kiss of a child, or a home-coming at twilight may suddenly open vistas to the soul.

The time is ripe, he believes, for the great interpretation of little things. The procession of the ages has led to the age of the spirit. "The psychology of which I speak is transcendental and throws light on the direct relationship that exists between soul and soul. \* \* \* It is a science that is in its infancy; but by it men shall be taken a full step higher, and very speedily shall it dismiss forever the elementary psychology that has been dominant to this day."

The new psychology brings forth a new, a mystic morality, too esoteric indeed for rough daily use, but infinitely pow-

erful for the grace of charity. It is a morality not so much to live by as through which to obtain the love which never judges because it is aware of the mystery in all human affairs. How else can many of the moral paradoxes of life be explained! "A man shall have committed crimes reputed to be the vilest of all, and yet it may be that even the blackest of these shall not have tarnished, for one single moment, the breath of fragrance and ethereal purity that surrounds his presence; while at the approach of a philosopher or martyr our soul may be steeped in unendurable gloom."

By their conception of destiny men reveal their essential natures. Maeterlinck, like Aeschylus and Dante and Goethe, is pre-occupied with the mystery of fate. But he seeks the answer to the eternal question not in Titanic events, nor in the blanched faces of those borne on the winds of Hell, nor in the laboratory of a Faustus: but in the simple life of the peasant, or the unconscious maiden, or the tender, ignorant mother. "To the sage the hour must come when every soul that exists claims his glance, his approval, his love, if only because it possesses the mysterious gift of existence."

His conception of destiny is novel and inspiring. To Thomas Hardy destiny is a power, not ourselves, that makes for trickery. To the Greek it was a Nemesis for sins committed and unatoned. To Calvin it was an arbitrary wind, sweeping some up to the Beatific Vision, others down to the unfathomed woe. To Maeterlinck "hostile forces at once take possession of all that is vacant within us, nor filled by the strength of our soul." In the mysterious soul he lodges that force of goodness and love which can only be defeated by a higher goodness and love; and in such a guise destiny whether it deal death or life will always be beautiful.

Destiny, moreover, must be taken account of, in the sense that because all life is mysterious, events may steal from the enveloping twilight to challenge the soul. "We must act as though we were masters—as though all things were bound to obey us; and yet let us carefully tend in our soul a thought whose duty it shall be to offer noble submission to the mighty forces we may encounter." The soul of the man who under-



stands destiny yields his goodness only to goodness, and is overcome only of light. Destiny becomes therefore in a new and mystical sense the will of God. "Real fatality exists only in certain external disasters—as disease, accident, the sudden death of those we love; but inner fatality there is none." "Lofty thoughts suffice not always to overcome destiny, for against these destiny can oppose thoughts that are loftier still; but what destiny has ever withstood thoughts that are simple and good, thoughts that are tender and loyal? We can triumph over destiny only by doing the very reverse of the evil she would have us commit. For no tragedy can be inevitable. At Elsinore there is not a soul but refuses to see, and hence the catastrophe; but a soul that is quick with life will compel those around it to open their eyes."

To Maeterlinck the guides and interpreters of destiny are wisdom and the love whereof wisdom is born. "He who sees without loving is only straining his eyes in the dark." These are old truths, but Maeterlinck gives to both love and wisdom new definitions. "Learn to love yourself with a love that is wise and healthy, that is large and complete; \* \* \* there is more active charity in the egoism of a strenuous, clairvoyant soul than in all the devotion of a soul that is helpless and blind. Before you exist for others, it behooves you to exist for yourself; before giving you must first acquire."

There is both the mystical and the practical in this noble doctrine: and, indeed, as Maeterlinck advances towards artistic completeness he forms ever more and more perfect unions between the vision and its concrete human expression, his latest plays being examples of this perfecting process. Unlike many mystics, the material world is intensely real to him, and he has looked upon it with keen eyes. The author of "The Treasure of the Humble" is also the author of the exquisite work, "The Life of the Bee," yet underlying both is the ever-present sense of mystery and destiny.

Mystery is the keynote of Maeterlinck's plays, those strange, shadowy dramas which possess the genius of difference. Nothing quite like them has ever been done in literature, despite the efforts of the critics to link them with the

early mystery and miracle plays. They are original because for the first time in dramatic history a playwright has concerned himself chiefly with the inner spiritual drama, with events of the soul, with internal acts.

"The mysterious chant of the Infinite, the ominous silence of the soul and of God, the murmur of Eternity on the horizon, the destiny or fatality that we are conscious of within us, though by what tokens none can tell—do not all these underlie King Lear, Macbeth, Hamlet? And would it not be possible, by some interchanging of the rôles, to bring them nearer to us, and send the actors farther off?"

In his own drama—dramas fit for the "static theatre" of his plea—Maeterlinck has "sent the actors farther off." His real players are not his dejected princesses, his great evil queens like bloated spiders, his little frightened children and wistful, timid girls, their white hands always groping through twilights of the forest, or vast forgotten vaults: it is not these who are the real actors, but mystery in its countless forms—as death stealing through garden ways or corridors; as love bending with blanched lips above the beloved; as life itself going through winding ways uncomforted and uncertain of its goal. And those upon the stage are always aware of these unseen assistants; always in faint terror of them, always pausing to look and listen for obscure shapes and sounds.

Maeterlinck produces his atmosphere of mystery not alone through the action of his plays, but through certain processes and aspects of nature. Heavy mists roll over the sunless forests that surround his castles; the dull roar of vast oceans penetrates even to the subterranean vaults. The castles themselves are as intricate as human life. No one has ever fully explored their corridors, their underlying crypts. Sleep, so closely allied to death, plays an important part. The seven princesses in the play of that name never wake till the fall of the curtain; then only wake to dumb affright because death is among them. Maeterlinck's dramas of death outnumber his dramas of love, and even in these, in "Alladine and Palomides," in "Pelleas and Melisande," and in "Aglavaine and Selysette," death is the last bewilderment of love.



The mystery in common things has seldom been presented as Maeterlinck presents it. He shows the awful forces lurking behind the every-day existence, the unseen powers that surround the humblest life. The hidden horror of "The Intruder" is superlative in force and effect, yet nothing takes place in this strange drama. A family is gathered about the evening lamp. In an adjoining room a sister-of-charity watches the mother who has lately given birth to a child. That is all, yet step by step almighty death itself creeps through the garden, his coming felt only by a certain restlessness among the members of the family; a more definite alarm on the part of the old grandfather, who is blind.

"The Blind" is perhaps the highest expression of Maeterlinck's symbolism. Winds from the loneliest spaces of the universe chill this strange drama of humanity's eternal groping. The church is dead in the midst of its people. Their asylum is but an island surrounded by a menacing, limitless ocean. Their only flowers are asphodels. The night is coming on and they have no one to lead them home.

The development of an artist, if he be really great, has the elements of the unexpected and the unforeseen. In "Monna Vanna" Maeterlinck surprised his audience, who believed that he would always wander in his strange, deep-sea twilight of symbolic presentation. This play shows that he has a grasp on two worlds. "Monna Vanna" is objective, dramatic, direct, full of love and war. Against the background of a beleagured city, move the three principal figures—two great, one limited and piteous, but perhaps all the more human for its limitations. Love mates the two who are on the same plane. It is not a Twentieth Century decision which Maeterlinck makes at the close of this strong drama, but the intervening ages plead for love's triumph. It could not have ended otherwise in the Italy of the Fifteenth Century.

In his latest play, "Joyzelle," Maeterlinck blends the dramatic and the mystic elements. It is difficult to foretell whether he will eventually return to the drama of the spiritual symbol, or follow the path marked out in "Monna Vanna." The robustness of this play seems prophetic of greater achievements than his accustomed manner affords.

## THE DEATH OF HERBERT SPENCER

IN THE DEATH of Herbert Spencer, England has lost the last great mind of the Victorian era, and the world has lost the most constructive philosopher of the nineteenth century.

Mr. Spencer was not an original investigator, but he was a master generalizer of the material of others. He had the capacity to grasp the knowledge of the different sciences with as much completeness as the experts in each field, and he had what no other man has had, in so great a degree, the capacity to classify, co-ordinate, and integrate that knowledge into an orderly system of philosophy which explains more of the phenomena of the universe than any other philosophy.

The Synthetic Philosophy, besides being more comprehensive and altogether more scientific than any other system, has the merit of having practically revolutionized the method of thinking in the modern world. It may be said that Darwin contributed the kernel of the doctrine of evolution by his investigations, but that Spencer has constructed the doctrine and applied it to so many fields of phenomena as to make it irresistible to the modern mind. It is fair to say today that every one accepts the theory of evolution, even though he does not understand it. It is because the works of Spencer and Darwin have impregnated literature for thirty years.

That Spencer's philosophy is made out of the material gathered by others is no objection to it is shown by the fact that it is strongest where scientific research has been most complete, and weakest where scientific investigation is least complete. In the sphere of economic and political science, Spencer was singularly weak, and frequently strong. This is explained by the fact that he accepted the very imperfect doctrine of the English economists as conclusive in their field. He lived in the atmosphere of the teaching of *laissez-faire*. This negative theory of economics and social philosophy easily appealed to Spencer as in harmony with the so-called natural law with which he was so familiar in biology, chemistry, astronomy, and other sciences. The theory of the survival of the fittest, which prevailed in biology, he assumed to apply with



equal force in economics and society. He therefore was opposed to every form of government aid to the forces of progress. He saw error in government, and assumed that all state interference was an artificial hindrance to the natural law of growth. He was so much opposed to state action, which to him seemed to be paternalism, that he even opposed public education and condemned the factory laws, which protected children from over-work and the poor from disease and death because of the pestilential condition of hovels and workshops. From this, he was naturally an absolute free-trader, an enemy to trade-unions, and frequently opposed legislation because it was contrary to "the principle of free trade which he held up as the criterion of public policy."

He failed because he lived too soon to grasp the constructive aspect of economics and political science. He failed to recognize the element of knowledge of natural law and the elements of human sympathy as a constructive force in nation-building and in human progress. His negative doctrine was well-nigh complete for the period when progress consisted solely in the breaking down of barriers to freedom; but when the period was reached when constructive protection became necessary, it made him an enemy rather than a helper to progress. When social advancement depended upon furnishing aid to opportunity and protection from destructive forces, as in the case of popular education, factory laws, and guarding the opportunities for industrial experimentation, Spencer and his whole school are generally on the wrong side. After the essential personal conditions were established, the true function contribution of economic and political science was to discover the natural laws that govern social progress, and apply them to public policy in order to create the conditions most favorable for their operation. Wherever the principles of personal freedom and democracy prevail, that must ever be the function of social science and statesmanship. This negative side of Spencer is inconsistent with the principle of evolution of which he was the ablest expounder and champion, and is the real defect in his magnificent and monumental work, the *Synthetic Philosophy*.

## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

AT THE PRESENT writing, the choice for presidential candidates in the two political parties seems to be narrowing down to two on each side. In the Democratic party, the choice seems to be between Senator Gorman of Maryland and Judge Parker of New York, with increasing sentiment in favor of Parker. In the Republican party, it is between President Roosevelt and Senator Hanna, with increasing sentiment in favor of Hanna.

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POLITICAL discussion in England is becoming almost epidemic. Mass meetings are being held all over the country, and the chief topic of discussion is the merits of the Chamberlain policy. From the reports in the *London Times* and other great journals of England, public opinion is rapidly growing away from Cobdenism toward some form of protection. Mr. Chamberlain may not finally become the accepted champion of the new fiscal policy, but unless all signs fail, the new fiscal policy will come, and in England will cease to be the victim of the classic dogma of free trade.

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THE SETTLEMENT of the Chicago strike is another evidence of the growth of the rational spirit in the labor movement. The corporations recognized the union and consented to submit all the questions of wages and other grievances to arbitration, but the claim for the the closed shop they refused to submit to arbitration. To the credit of the unions be it said that they recognized the force of this position and settled the strike on the terms of the open shop. This shows that progress is being made on both sides of the controversy. The corporations recognize the unions and the unions recognize the employers' right of shop management.

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MUCH is being said just now about the threatened deficit in the fiscal operations of the government. The President's message calls attention to the fact that there is likely to be no surplus revenue during the coming year. This should not be taken as an alarming symptom.



Much the greater part of this apparent decrease arises from increased expenditure in the army and navy, and in the Philippines. We can always have a deficit if we will keep on annexing half-savage people and spending the necessary funds to organize and govern them. It will need a large surplus and a tremendous business prosperity to supply the drain upon the revenues that a policy of colonizing expansion can create. It is one thing to hurrah for the flag in foreign lands, and quite another to pay the bills.

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IN THE retirement of Secretary Root from the cabinet the administration will lose one of its most brainy and characterful members. Mr. Root is not a political philosopher, nor could he properly be regarded as a statesman of first rank, but he is an eminently steady, practical, and efficient executive officer. He has rendered remarkably good service in the organization of affairs in the Philippines and has done more than any other man since the war to put the army on an efficient footing.

On matters of public policy, such as the tariff, Mr. Root has not been a good adviser. It is more than probable that the President's zeal for reciprocity, particularly with Cuba, has been inspired by Mr. Root. Like Ambassador Choate, he has for the most part been nearly a "mugwump" on the tariff question.

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THE SUPREME COURT of the United States has affirmed the constitutionality of the Kansas eight-hour law, regulating the hours of labor on public works. This decision confirms many of the decisions of the supreme court of different states on this subject.

Of course, this does not affect the New York law regulating the minimum wages contractors on public works shall pay, about which there has been so much discussion. The New York law was declared unconstitutional by the supreme court of New York. A constitutional amendment empowering the legislature so to regulate the wages would obviate that difficulty. An amendment to the constitution of New York to this effect has already been approved by the legislature and will

be submitted to the people in 1905. If it is approved at the polls, it will be constitutional for the legislature to fix a minimum wage at which any contractor for public work can employ laborers.

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COMMENTING upon the President's message, the *Boston Herald* says:

In view of the fact that an election is approaching, he apparently considers it necessary to do what he can in this official statement to quiet the fears of those representing these great corporate interests. Thus, in the message, it not only stated but reiterated that all that is intended is wholesome supervision. . . . President Roosevelt, it seems to us, might have spared himself this excess of protestation, for there is little probability that it will strengthen him in the opinion of those who represent the great corporate interests who have made up their minds that the President is an unsafe man.

This is almost cruel, considering the source from which it comes. If the *Boston Herald* can say this, what may be expected of ordinary folk who do not hold a brief to praise and defend the strenuous virtues of our fearless President?

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ACCORDING to recent press reports, "senators and representatives who have been home during the past ten days, and have returned for the opening of the regular session of congress, say that they have been surprised at the fresh outbreak for Hanna as a presidential candidate which has occurred within a week. This has burst forth simultaneously all over the country. It has been as noticeable in Indiana as in Ohio, and is as fervent in Chicago as in New York city".

Of course, this is a disturbing fact, but what can be done about it? When Mr. Roosevelt returned from San Juan hill and supplanted Gov. Black, his friends sympathized with the governor, but bowed to the "sentiment of the people". Mr. Roosevelt's friends very wisely concluded that they were powerless against fate. Those who are disturbed by the growing sentiment for Senator Hanna should realize that sometimes fate changes its mind. Besides, no man ever lived who



would have refused the presidency of the United States, nor should any man be expected to.

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THE LETTER of James Noble Tyner to President Roosevelt is a very forceful and well-nigh convincing document. It certainly shows that Mr. Tyner should not be judged by Mr. Bristow's report until he has had an opportunity for a hearing.

In the face of Mr. Tyner's letter to Bristow, and other facts connected with the case, it was premature and unjust for the President to denounce him as guilty. This over-zealous and inconsiderate act gives the official force of the President to the charge as if Mr. Tyner has been found guilty, whereas, as facts stand, the strong probability is that he is innocent.

The injustice of this is intensified by the fact that Mr. Tyner is 77 years of age, has served three years in congress and as Assistant Postmaster-General and Attorney-General for the Postoffice. He had been in the public service seventeen years. Mr. Roosevelt's desire for honest administration may not be questioned, but even the uprooting of dishonesty in public office should be tempered with sufficient care and moderation to prevent the injury of the innocent by too hasty proclamation of unproved guilt, especially by the President of the nation.

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THE TREND of emigration is a sure indication of business prosperity and opportunity. There is no emigration toward China or India or Russia, except from Asia. People never continuously move from a better to a poorer country.

Recent emigration statistics tell a significant story in this regard. The immigration into this country during the last year is greater than ever before, and the emigration from Great Britain is exceeding all previous experience. During the year ending June, 1903, 857,000 immigrants came to this country, and during the last ten months, 406,528 emigrants left England. Nothing could more infallibly indicate the difference in the industrial conditions here and in Great Britain.

During Mr. Cleveland's administration, the tide of immigration was reversed, and for the first time in the history of

the republic the gates of Castle Garden swung outward. The difference between thousands of laborers leaving this country for Europe, and nearly a million leaving Europe for this country, tells its own story of the difference in national welfare.

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THE SUDDEN promotion of General Wood over the heads of such a large number of superior officers, has very naturally, and even properly, called forth general disapproval. This is the more striking on account of the President's pronounced position on the "merit system".

The nation has the right to expect that, above all else, President Roosevelt would insist that all promotions under his administration, and those made personally by himself, should be strictly free from favoritism. Yet the extraordinary promotion of General Wood can hardly be attributed to naught else. As the investigation proceeds, a multitude of things are coming to view which it is to be supposed the President would not tolerate. The testimony as to his practical insubordination in the army and his disregard for superior officers, the facts about using the public money to buy off General Gómez to secure the election of President Palma, and the scandalous use of the public funds to bribe newspapers, circulate campaign literature and encourage lobbyists to influence congress to give tariff reduction on Cuban sugar, are well known. In the light of all this, it is not surprising that there should be opposition to the confirmation of General Wood.

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It WOULD be difficult to imagine a state of business or finance in which some persons would not regard a reduction of the tariff as a great improvement. If times are bad, the remedy is to reduce the tariff; if times are good and business prosperous, a reduction of the tariff is necessary to prevent monopoly and the evils of too large profits. If the surplus is too large, the tariff should be reduced to lessen the revenue! Indeed, this was the main reason given for the election of Mr. Cleveland in 1892; and now comes the Boston *Herald* with a plea to reduce the tariff because the revenue is too small. It seriously argues that a lower tariff might give increased revenues because more

goods would be imported. In this instance, at least, the *Herald* is right, but for the moment it seems to lose sight of a fact that the people will be very likely to see, namely: that any increased revenue by increased importation means a reduced domestic production, and of course less business, less profit, less employment, and less wages at home.

If our Boston contemporary will put that proposition squarely and ask the American people if they are willing to lessen domestic prosperity in order to increase customs revenue, it may be confidently predicted that the answer will be emphatic and conclusive. The readiness with which chronic tariff reformers will sacrifice home industry for foreign importation, regardless of the effect upon the national welfare, is well-nigh appalling.

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IN ANSWERING the series of questions put to him by the Indianapolis Central Labor Union, Mr. David M. Parry, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, was not an entire success. Here is one of the questions and Mr. Parry's reply:

Question:

As you believe in unrestricted competition in the employment of labor, do you also believe in conducting industrial enterprises in harmony with natural competitive conditions? Do you believe in free trade or protection? If you are a protectionist, how do you harmonize the application of a natural law in employing laborers and the ignoring of this law in conducting a manufacturing enterprise?

Mr. Parry's reply:

As an interference with natural law the tariff is to be tolerated, because its aim is the advancement of the interests of the whole people; but the interference of organized labor with natural law is not to be tolerated, because its aim is the advancement of the interests of only a part of the people, this advancement being secured by the exploitation of the rest of the people.

Doesn't Mr. Parry know that it is the stock charge against protection that it is in the interest of a small class? One would suppose that Mr. Parry would have realized the absurdity of such a reply and had the frankness either to abandon his protection or admit the right of labor organization. But to pre-



tend that "as an interference with natural law, the tariff is to be tolerated", . . . "but the interference of organized labor with natural law is not to be tolerated", is something more than absurd. It rules the author out of the arena of rational discussion.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT's third annual message will hardly go down into history as a great state paper. The discussion of the new Department of Commerce and the Panamá revolution barely save it from being a perfunctory document.

His discussion of the Department of Commerce, which is largely his creation, is labored and almost apologetic. He writes like one who realizes that the inquisitorial character of the new department is being too well understood, and has over much protestation that its objects are harmless. He iterates and reiterates the assurance that only the wicked will be punished; but the fact remains that this department has heretofore unheard-of inquisitorial power over the affairs of business concerns, and that it rests largely with the wisdom and discretion of the head of that department and the President as to whether it shall be a menace to the business of the country or practically a dead letter.

It will be remembered that congress passed an act appropriating \$500,000 and put it at the disposal of the Attorney-General to prosecute corporations that should be "named" by this new department for punishment. Such power and such a large fund in the hands of one or two men can hardly be other than dangerous. No public official, however honest, can be safely trusted with such authority. The temptation to abuse it and the probability of prejudice, to say nothing of poor judgment in using it, is altogether too great. It is not surprising that the President should feel that some assurance is necessary that this extraordinary power will not be abused, or, at least, not used as a means of persecution.

It is doubtful if his message will do much to remove the feeling of fear that nearly two years of ill-advised zeal has created. Too much protesting may, indeed, increase the fear.

## QUESTION BOX

### Our Policy Toward Our Neighbors.

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Assuming that, because of our tremendous military and industrial power, the United States is the leader in the western hemisphere, is it not folly to continue a policy that insults, irritates, and estranges the weaker peoples to the north and south of us? The true field for the exploitation of our industrial and economic life is our own country; and, next to that, the countries immediately adjacent to or near us. It would seem apparent, therefore, to every one, that the true policy would be one of conciliation and friendship toward our North-American and South-American neighbors. We have, however, already antagonized, and somewhat estranged, Chile, Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Mexico, and Canada. Does it not seem to you that this policy is foolish as well as dangerous? D. E.

Both for our own interest and the interest of civilization, it is manifestly our duty to maintain as peaceful and friendly relations with our neighbors as possible. Friendliness, however, should not be stretched into meaning enduring or endorsing every sort of conduct on the part of our South-American, or, for that matter, our northern neighbors. The friendliness should always be of the nature that disposes us to be helpful, and never hurtful, to the smaller countries, and, if possible, we should be indulgent rather than exacting.

It can hardly be called "antagonizing" merely to insist that these countries maintain an honorable relation to the world, especially that they live up to their contracts and pay their obligations. Our conduct toward Venezuela can hardly be called antagonizing. But for us, England, Germany, and Italy would undoubtedly have pounced upon her and appropriated her territory. We practically gave them and all Europe notice that they could collect their debts, but that they should not confiscate territory.

Nor can it justly be said that we have antagonized Cuba. If we have not been friendly to Cuba, then what would constitute friendliness? We intervened, when the revolution was

on its last legs, and drove the Spaniards from her shores. We established peace and civic order throughout the island. We organized her political institutions; in short, set her up in business as a republic, and then gave her a clean bill to go and govern herself; and for doing this we charged not a penny. It is the first time in history when a nation ever went to war and paid its own expenses, solely to give freedom to another nation, without any material recompense. It is the greatest example of national altruism recorded. And ever since the republic was established, we have been struggling to give Cuba special privileges in the American market at the expense of American industries.

Notwithstanding all this, our correspondent is entirely right in suggesting that our attitude toward our neighbors, all of which are smaller and weaker, should ever be that of helpful friendliness and, most of all, should be entirely free from any suspicion of military belligerency or eagerness to exercise either a confiscatory or protective authority over them. It must be admitted that in the Panamá case, the promptness with which our navy intervened, and the lightning speed with which we recognized the new republic, came very near the bounds of neighborliness. If the independence of Panamá was necessary to the construction of the canal, the end may be said to justify the means; yet it comes dangerously near aiding insurrection. There is but a short step between that and the treacherous spy-sustaining and conspiracy-promoting policy of Russia. It is far better for the friendly spirit among our neighbors and our own reputation that we be a little too slow, rather than too hasty and strenuous, in aiding and recognizing revolt.

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### Is a Treasury Deficit a Bad Sign?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—For the first time in many years there is not only an absence of surplus in the treasury, but a positive deficit. Of course, this may be temporary, and conditions that now cause it may be removed or changed within a short time. Is it to be regarded, however, as a dangerous condition in our national finances, or as a threatening symptom of approaching trouble?

L. T. M.



It is a mistake to say there is a positive deficit in the treasury; there is only a deficit of income compared with expenditures for this year and there is a tremendously large surplus still in the treasury. No, it is not an ominous sign at all, that the public revenues are less than public expenditures; on the contrary, that is very much as it should be. The only question that might give concern in this connection is, are the expenditures well made? If the money is wisely expended in the payment of public service then it is not too large. It is a mistake to assume always that small public expenditures represent wise policy. For the same reason that private welfare is promoted and largely measured by expenditure, public welfare is promoted by public expenditure. The nation with the smallest per capita tax may be, and often is, the least public spirited and altogether the most backward in public improvements. Turkey, for instance, has nearly the least per capita public expenditure of any country, and it has the most filthy and pestilential cities and degraded population as well as intolerant public spirit of all countries in Europe.

The important question regarding public expenditure is not so much the amount as what it is expended for. If it is expended for public improvements, education, good roads, and civic improvements, then it is well spent, however large. If it is lavished on military equipments and wasted through political "grabs", then it is bad, however small the amount. Last year congress reduced taxes for the purpose of reducing the surplus going into the treasury. This, together with increased expenditures, has absorbed the surplus, but this does not seem to indicate any special dangerous condition either of our industries or of our finances.

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### Significance of Balance of Trade.

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—The old theory of the balance of trade is no longer seriously urged as an infallible guide in determining whether or not a nation is prosperous; but the prosperity of this country has, by many writers, been taken as best indicated by the tremendous tide of our

exports. These have been far in excess of our imports; and to superficial thinkers it would indicate a condition of tremendous industrial success and prosperity. Lately, the imports have been increasing at a far greater ratio than the exports, and, for the first time, seem to presage a near approach to, if not equality with, the volume of exports. Is this to be taken as a good, or a bad, sign of the times? In other words, do the increasing imports indicate an actual loss or an actual gain to the business of the country? It would seem to mean that we are rich enough to buy, as well as prosperous enough to sell. B. J.

The excess of imports and exports does not necessarily indicate anything regarding the national prosperity. Whether the excess of imports or exports would indicate prosperity, or the reverse, would depend entirely upon what caused the excess either way. If imports increased over exports, as a result of the falling off of home business, then it would clearly indicate depression. Our buying more than we sell would not indicate that we were prosperous; but it would indicate that we were too poor to market our own goods. Nothing that lessens or discourages the prosperity of domestic industry can ever indicate national prosperity. Imported things may be very much cheaper, but if domestic industry is diminished thereby, the people are poorer. A people is not made prosperous by the amount they export or by the amount they buy, but by the amount they make and use. During the Irish famine, wheat was exported from Ireland, but the people died of starvation. They sold their products because they were too poor to use them.

It is peculiar that during the last year our exports, as compared with imports, declined; that is, the balance of trade diminished. Those who think a favorable balance of trade the only sure sign of national prosperity, would attribute that as a sign of national adversity; whereas the truth was that our decline in exports was most in manufactured products, and we did not export because we could not make more than enough for the home market. Our output was greatly increased, but our domestic consumption took it nearly all, and that was the best of all signs of national prosperity.

It is not the size of the balance of trade, but the size of volume of trade, that indicates business prosperity. Although our balance of trade during the last year has fallen off, our

volume of trade has increased. In this particular case, it does indicate that we have been rich enough to buy as well as prosperous enough to sell.

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### Effect on Prosperity of the Administration's Policy.

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—The prosperity of this country has now been continuous for something over a decade; but, for the hour, there seems in certain quarters some little doubt as to its continuance. There is, unquestionably, some apprehension that the present conditions in the stock market indicate a distinct loss in business, and a decided, if temporary, decline in our industrial prosperity.

Is it not possible that this condition has been brought about, to a large extent, by the rashness visible in almost every department of our administrative life? There seems to be no hesitation on the part of the administration in intermeddling with conditions it cannot improve, and which, taken very seriously, injure by causing alarm. I refer, of course, to the desire of the President for reciprocity treaties, which is one way of assailing the tariff, and to the well-known leaning of the President toward some sort of tariff revision, and also to the precipitancy with which our government is now interfering with foreign affairs. Are not these causes at least contributory to the wide apprehension felt in business circles, and to the decline in market values of many of our stocks? Do you think that this is a real condition, or merely an apparent one; and that the discouragement is merely temporary, and that our prosperity is as sound as ever and will continue so as long as we can maintain our present foreign and domestic policy? W. C.

Yes, there can hardly be any question that much of the business apprehension of the last six months has been emphasized, if not produced, by the more or less erratic and quite uncertain attitude of the administration toward industrial interests. This has occurred in so many ways that it has created apprehension in almost every part of the industrial field.

The administration's attitude toward Cuba and tariff revision has been almost equivalent to agitation for a new tariff. In certain quarters this has had a decidedly disturbing effect. It has frightened the manufacturers, and it has lessened the confidence of financiers in the credit of manufacturing industries affected by the tariff. This has not been alarming, but it has had the effect of making bankers "careful", which means



that they are eager to call in notes and reluctant to let them out. This means for this class of industry a money stringency—that it is a difficulty to get financial accommodation.

The attitude of the administration in other quarters has created even more serious apprehension. There is a fear that something may happen, and fear of that kind often has the same effect upon business as if it had happened; people act as if it were going to happen. When Mr. Cleveland was elected in 1892, everybody expected a severe revision of the tariff, and they immediately acted as if it had happened; banks called in their loans and refused their credits, and business men canceled their orders for machinery and their plans for new enterprise, and everybody became afraid of everybody else, and, before Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated, we had a full-grown panic—not because of anything he did, but because of what everybody feared he would do. The business of the financial world always discounts public policy in advance. To the extent that there is any possible sign of disturbance, it is discounted and has therefore the same effect as if it had happened. The demoralization of Wall Street, which has depressed commercial securities, is largely attributable to this influence. Some decline in stock values was natural; but no such fall was justified by the economic condition of industries. The fear of an antagonistic policy toward some had a demoralizing influence upon all.

If there had been complete confidence in the attitude of the administration, there probably would have been only a slow and steady lowering in the values of stocks. If the business and banks of the country had not been in an exceptionally strong condition, this disturbance would have given a panic. As it is, it has only stimulated the tendency toward industrial depression.

There is not the least doubt that if the administration could re-inspire the nation, that is, the industries of the nation, with complete confidence that no disturbing policy would be adopted for the next four years, there would be a definite revival in business, and what now threatens to be an industrial depression may be avoided.

## BOOK REVIEWS

ORGANIZED LABOR: ITS PROBLEMS, PURPOSES AND IDEALS.  
By John Mitchell. American Book and Bible House. Cloth.  
436 pp. \$1.75.

It is not surprising that a man so suddenly achieving fame as John Mitchell has done through his leadership of labor and his masterly organization and direction of the two great coal strikes, should write a book. It would have been surprising had he not done so. It often happens that books written in such circumstances are mere collections of documents, speeches, and contributions by contemporary workers. Such books usually have only a temporary value and do not always reflect credit on those whose memory it is intended to honor. Mr. Mitchell's book is not of that kind. It is not in any sense a technical or profound discussion of economics, but it is a very well written account of the struggles, purposes, and benefits of labor unions.

The excellent spirit which has always characterized Mr. Mitchell's public action and speeches pervades the whole book. It is strikingly free from acrimony. It has none of the class prejudice that so frequently flavors labor literature.

The early chapters are devoted to a review of the condition of labor. This part of the book shows very diligent reading and not a little culling from Webb's "History of Trade-Unionism" and "Industrial Democracy" and Ingalls' "Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844". It gives a vivid description of the conditions under the early factory system in England. Like Ingalls and the socialists, Mr. Mitchell here falls into the rather natural error of claiming that the condition of laborers became worse under the factory system. He says (page 24): "Taxes increased, the cost of living rose, and the real wages of workers fell, during the early years of the nineteenth century to a point below which they had probably never before sunk during the five centuries preceding. So low did wages fall that men came to believe in the idea of an iron law of wages, a cruel, immutable law

by which the pay of workmen was fixed at the lowest point compatible with mere existence”.

It will not be denied that the factory system brought many new evils into the life of the laboring class. The long hours, the unsanitary condition, the increase of disease, and the development of new vices are among the characteristic evils of the first generation under the factory system; but it is not true, even with all this, “that real wages fell to a point below which they had probably never before sunk during the five centuries preceding”. Had this been so, the laborers would have died of starvation. During the reign of the Tudors and Stuarts, the period which did so much for the advance of the middle class, wages were so low that it became necessary to eke them out with pauper allowance in order to keep the laborers alive. This system ceased with the advent of the factory, and laborers lived on their wages.

Nothing is ever gained by trying to make the picture worse than the facts will warrant. The social and sanitary condition of the laborer may have been even worse because of the new crowding into towns to live in close proximity to the factories. As already remarked, a multitude of new evils came with the factory system, but the fall of wages to a lower point than was ever before known was not one of them. Nor is it true that this low wage gave rise to the idea of the “iron law of wages”. That was an academic theory developed by the Ricardian economists, and in no way entered into the thinking of the laboring class. It had no place in labor literature until emphasized by Karl Marx in “Das Kapital”.

Bad as the factory system was even at its beginning, it was a change from a poorer to a better industrial condition. The factory, despite its vice-creating conditions, separated the home from the workshop, and for the first time made the home a social abode, distinct from the workshop. This was the real beginning of the social improvement of the laboring class. Until this took place, it was practically impossible to enlist either public sentiment or legislation in the aid of improving the condition of the masses. When the home was the workshop and the workshop the home, the plea about the sacredness of



the home prevented any interference with the abominable conditions of work. It was a condition previous to the factory system that Hood described in his "Song of the Shirt". The separation of the workshop from the home, which the factory made possible, made the conditions of labor a matter of public concern. Not until that had occurred was it possible to ask for reduction of the hours of labor, or for any other sanitary or humane regulation of work. The factory system was in no sense a step backward. The fact that it brought new evils and vices was not peculiar to the factories: that comes of all progress. The trade-union itself has brought many of these, as have all other new formations of organization and industrial and social differentiation.

Mr. Mitchell's description of the condition of labor under the new factory system is energetic and inspiring, and it serves to show conclusively how much progress has been made under it. No one, after reading this description, can say that laborers are worse off than formerly. They have, in fact, made marvelous progress in welfare, in intelligence, and in personal freedom, with the general progress of society, a fact that labor writers and speakers may well observe.

The chapter on Modern Trade-Unions in Great Britain is an excellent presentation of the facts, but it lacks one thing to make it as fair as Mr. Mitchell usually is. From reading this account, one would think that the trade-union movement in England had been one orderly struggle for the rights of organization. He so completely omits any mention of the violence of the systematically planned outrages committed by early trade-unions as to give the impression that none existed. It may be said in extenuation that those who write against trade-unions tell of nothing but their defects; yet any account is much stronger, much more likely to carry respect and conviction, which at least indicates the real facts, even though some of them might be unpalatable. It is not at all surprising that the early trade-unions should have relied largely upon physical force. The union was born in a period of brutality, and it is highly creditable that it had less and less recourse to brute force as the movement advanced. This disposition

to avoid mentioning any of the defects of trade-unions is rather characteristic of the whole book, and as a history of organized labor this is a defect, because without this it can not give a true picture. Nevertheless, the facts given of the doings of the English trade-unions show conclusively that they have been and are, despite their defects, the bulwark of power and independence of the wage class.

Mr. Mitchell shows that the benefits rendered by unions, entirely independent of the strike feature, more than justify their existence. For instance, in 1901, he tells us that the accumulated funds of only three-fifths of the total membership of the organizations of Great Britain amounted to \$20,000,000, and that there was an annual income of \$10,000,000; and that during the ten years from 1892 to 1901, they disbursed, in various benefits to the unemployed, the sick, superannuated, funeral expenses, etc., \$73,500,000. This insurance and benefit feature alone amply justify their existence. This unquestionably authentic information is very valuable, and is a real contribution to the available knowledge of the subject.

Mr. Mitchell very properly contends for a high and constantly rising standard of wages, and it is not surprising that he should lapse into the notion that the mass of the people are falling far short of receiving their portion of the product. The temptation is very great to feel and say that the masses are contributing to the increased output and are not sharing in the increased consumption. Mr. Mitchell does less of this than almost any labor writer, but in the chapter on "American Standard of Wages" he seems to have that idea. He says: "The man who formerly turned out twenty articles a day, now turns out a hundred or five hundred. . . . While the standard of living has risen, it has not by any means kept pace with the increased productivity of labor."

If the standard of living in the community has not approximately kept pace with the increased product, what has become of the product? It has not accumulated. It is well known that consumption keeps more closely to the margin of production than ever before. It has been estimated that we have only a few months' food supply ahead and less than six

months' clothing ; and, altogether, we could hardly exist a year without production. If production is increased from one to five hundred-fold per capita, somebody has consumed it, and it is not the small handful of capitalists, for that would have been a physical impossibility, the increased product of clothes, of food, and of furniture, and of other articles, could not have been consumed by the ten per cent. or twenty per cent. of the well-to-do. The fact is that the great mass of the increased production has been taken by the increased consumption of the masses, which conclusively shows there must have been a general and permanent improvement in the standard of living. This does not mean that the standard of living should not be raised still more. The truth is that much of the increased production depends upon the improved standard of living of the masses, since that is the only way a market for the increased products can be furnished. The higher standard of living among the masses is really the silent cause, rather than the consequence, of larger production. If the capitalists of the country really understood this, they would see that the secret of their future progress largely depends upon the continued improvement in the social standard of living among the laborers. Anything that contributes to this, whether it be education, social diversity, labor unions, or whatsoever, permanently contributes to the industrial progress of the nation and the possibility of business prosperity for the employing classes. Instead of the improved condition of the laborers being a sort of charitable incident to capitalist prosperity, it is the most fundamental influence that makes that prosperity possible.

Mr. Mitchell takes the position that \$600 a year should be made the minimum wage in the United States. If the methods taken to bring this about are of the economic kind, no exception can be taken to this point. It is an excellent goal to aim for. If \$600 a year were the minimum wage in this country and the variations upward, as at present, which would be the case in the more highly developed industries, the wages of skilled mechanics and artisans would range from \$1,000 to \$1,500, or more. This could not take place by any sudden, arbitrary decision ; but whenever it does occur, the whole



nation will be on a higher social, moral, and political, as well as material, plane.

Mr. Mitchell writes sympathetically and humanely on the question of working women and children. He points out, with force and clearness, how unions have protested against the long hours and the employment of women and children in many industries. It would hardly be correct, however, to assume that this has come about with anything like the same sympathy that Mr. Mitchell displays in describing it. The unions have frequently opposed the employment of women and children, but the motive has generally been, not sympathy for their women and children, but because they were competitors, because their presence in the workshop tended to lower the wages of the men. It is proverbial that where workmen have the employment of subordinates as helpers, they are the most overbearing task-masters. They will make children work to the limit, and will give the very minimum pay possible. This is true of factory operatives. It is true of spinners when they hired boys and other laborers; it was true of weavers when they hired learners; it is true everywhere. It was found in Massachusetts that parents were even advancing the ages of children in the family Bible in order to get them in the factory before they were of legal age. Nevertheless, the unions did a good work when opposing the employment of children and night work and long hours for women. The benefit comes from the fact rather than the motive. When unions, however, shall act upon the same motive and with the same spirit that Mr. Mitchell writes, they will have made a great advance, indeed.

It is encouraging to see Mr. Mitchell, whose organization perhaps represents a larger number of immigrants than any other labor-union in this country, take a decided position in favor of restricting immigration. Nobody knows better than he the quality of immigrants that are now coming to this country, and their harmful influence upon the social conditions as well as the wage-standard of American labor. It may be said, as it sometimes is, that it is very selfish for a man of foreign birth, and a member of an organization composed mostly of

foreigners, to plead for keeping other foreigners out of the country. It is highly creditable that laborers, whether immigrants or not, should see that the incoming of their fellows from the old world is a danger to American institutions. As Mr. Mitchell well says (p. 181): "The American people should not sacrifice the future of the working classes in order to improve the conditions of the inhabitants of Europe, and it is even questionable whether an unregulated immigration would improve the conditions of Europe and Asia, although it is certain that it would injure and degrade the conditions of labor in this country."

The closing chapters of the book are devoted to an account of the coal strike, the causes that led up to it, and the manner of its settlement, which is very valuable because it is given in a most dispassionate spirit with manifest fairness and by one who knows all about it. The only criticism to be made upon this part of the book is the same that was made as to the trade-union movement in England; namely, it omits everything of the disagreeable kind. It makes practically no reference to the defects, to the violence, to the errors. The entire omission of that phase of the story is apt to give the impression that the account is not an entirely fair one, that it is not good history, that if, in ten, twenty, or fifty years from now, one wishes to learn about the coal strike, he will not be able to get it from Mr. Mitchell's book, and may be apt to turn to some lurid and false description of it by an enemy of labor.

As a whole, the book is an excellent and, in many features, a valuable contribution to labor literature, and it is superior to anything of its kind published. Its orderly statement, not too belabored with details, makes it an excellent source of information. It is also very readable, and, with its author's standing among the labor men of the country, it ought to have a very wide reading among the wage workers of the country. Its tone, spirit, and aim makes it very wholesome, and, if it should become to the trade-unionists of the country what Karl Marx's "*Kapital*" is to the socialists, it would do much to help the tone, clarify the mind, and improve the spirit of the trade-union movement.

THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF SIMON STERNE. By John Foord. London and New York. Macmillan & Co., 1903. Pp. 338. Cloth. Gilt top.

This is the biography of one of the most public-spirited and indefatigable reformers of this country. Upon every question of public interest that arose during the last thirty years Mr. Sterne held a definite opinion and took a definite position. In every movement for political or municipal reform he was a conspicuous factor. He was an inordinate worker, a good public speaker, a keen debater, and a merciless critic. He was intensely democratic and an extreme individualist. Indeed, his individualism and his democracy were so strong, and his love of freedom so intense, that he was opposed to almost every form of organized effort, or every species of beneficent legislation that looked in the least toward help for any one. His point of view was essentially that of *laissez-faire*. He was, therefore, a free-trader of the extreme type, and, for the same reason, was opposed to legislation in favor of labor and of capital.

His attitude on the labor problem may be judged from the following views as given by his biographer on p. 37: "All labor to be productive must be free. Every artificial enactment which interferes with that right on the specious pretext of better regulating the partition of remuneration of laborers is radically false and injurious. There is not a commercial privilege, nor industrial monopoly which is not a source of suffering and misery to some one. The interest of man should be the sole arbiter of his conduct." This expresses Mr. Sterne's position exactly. He always feared the evils of too much government. For this reason, while he was deeply interested in the welfare of labor, the purity of government, and progress in every direction, he was opposed to almost every form of collective action to promote that end. He believed in high wages but he was utterly opposed to labor-unions as a means of promoting high wages. He wanted national prosperity, but he would risk all the probabilities of adversity rather than have the government do anything to aid business. To Mr. Sterne's mind, protection was merely a species of favoritism and an aid to injustice. He



was, therefore, always found in opposition to any constructive industrial legislation. To him, it was all paternalism, and paternalism he hated. He belonged to the school to whom progress meant the breaking down of barriers, not the building of fences.

On the other hand, and as a part of his nature and political thinking, he was the enemy of jobbery and corruption or inefficiency in any form. He was always conspicuous in every movement for the purification of public life. He was a strong advocate of the Hare theory of proportional representation as a remedy for the corrupt practises of political machines and politicians. He was on the committee of seventy-five that led the attack on the Tweed ring in New York city, and was a conspicuous figure in every reform movement in New York city or state up to the time of his death. He was a member of the committee of seventy that drove Tammany from power by the election of Mayor Strong, and again took conspicuous part in the reform movement that elected Mayor Low in 1901. It is not too much to say that there has been no reform for purity of politics and the elevation of municipal government in the last twenty-five years which has not benefited by the counsel and advocacy of Simon Sterne.

Mrs. Sterne and the author, Mr. Foord, have rendered a valuable service in giving this book to the public.

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MONEY AND CREDIT. By Wilbur Aldrich. New York. The Grafton Press. 1903. Cloth; pp. 190.

In this little book, Mr. Aldrich has discussed his subject with great closeness. He has done what authors do not always do, "stuck to his text". The work shows evidence of considerable reading of fiscal literature and also an effort to be exact in definition and statement. The frequent references and brief review of ancient experiments in banking are very helpful in enforcing the point of the author, which is mainly to show the uselessness of paper money.

He is not merely an advocate of the gold standard, but insists upon having hardly any other kind of money. Much that the author says on this subject is sound and forceful, but

his aversion to paper money is carried to an extreme. It leads him to oppose bank-note issues, even when they are subject to current redemption. His eagerness in this direction seems to have led him to misinterpret the real use and practical workings of elastic currency. He says (p. 80): "Where notes are issued by many independent banks, it is obviously against the interest of the issuers to have them returned, and, in fact, they stay out indefinitely." This is only true when the notes are not subject to redemption through a redemption center. That was not true of either the first or second bank of the United States. It was not true of the New England banks under the Suffolk bank system. It was not true with the Bank of Scotland nor the Bank of Canada. In fact, it can not be true whenever the notes are subject to daily redemption in coin through a redemption center. No advocate of elastic currency would think of recommending note-issues under any other condition. Nevertheless, Mr. Aldrich has written a very creditable book. Its errors are in the direction of conservatism and not of disturbing inflation.

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THE MODERN AGE. Being Part II, of the Mediæval and Modern History. By Philip Van Ness Myers. Ginn & Co. Boston. \$1.25 net.

This little volume is a model of what this kind of work should be in this age of brief and easily accessible reference books. It gives in clear outline the kind of information that the average reader and student wishes to lay his hand upon at any moment it becomes necessary. The scope of the book embraces the period of transition from the mediæval to the modern age, roughly, 1492, to such late events as the Boer War, the process of the dismemberment of China, the Trans-Siberian railway, and the present Far Eastern problem, now in its acutest stage.

This particular volume is well supplied with clear and excellent maps and a bibliography giving the principal sources for each period follows each chapter.

The work of Mr. Myers has long been a standard authority, and the present book is a decided advance upon works of

this kind, and will be appreciated by all who wish to inform themselves in the general field of modern history.

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LUCRETIA BORGIA. By Ferdinand Gregorovius. Translated by John Leslie Garner. D. Appleton & Company. New York.

According to her historian, Lucrezia has been one of the most maligned of women. The world has grown accustomed to looking upon her as a modern Jezebel, and the real purpose of the book is to restore this beautiful Italian to the position of respect and honor which she held for a time in her own day.

The author is successful, in a large measure, in carrying out this purpose, and no one hereafter will be able to think of Lucrezia as we have been accustomed to thinking of her for generations. Although her father, Pope Alexander, thought so highly of her that he permitted her to preside over a consistory, Gregorovius is by no means blind to her many faults and vices, and shows that she was bad enough to justify much of the ill reputation she has borne.

Objection may be taken, in regard to this book, to the apparent absence of any desire for accuracy. The name of the heroine is misspelled throughout as "Lucretia" instead of Lucrezia, and her famous brother appears as "Cæsar" instead of Cesare. On page xxii, of the introduction, we find the names Cesare Foucard and Cesare Guasti. It is astonishing that the author could write these names properly, and yet consent to such hybrid forms as "Donna Lucretia" and "Signor Cæsar".

Lucrezia is fortunate in having such a biographer. After this, even Jezebel need not despair. The work is a marvel of erudition, and is one of the most notable biographies that have appeared in many years. It will remain a standard book, as to Lucrezia, as to her father, the Pope, as to her famous and iniquitous brother, and as to the Italy of that wicked and fascinating period.



## CURRENT COMMENT

### **The President's**

#### **Message**

#### **—Selections**

With a nation, as with a man, the most important things are those of the household, and therefore the country is especially to be congratulated on what has been accomplished in the direction of providing for the exercise of supervision over the great corporations and combinations of corporations engaged in inter-state commerce. The establishment of the Department of Commerce and Labor, with the Bureau of Corporations thereunder, marks a real advance in the direction of doing all that is possible for the solution of the questions vitally affecting capitalists and wage-workers.

It is not designed to restrict or control the fullest liberty of legitimate business action, but to secure exact and authentic information which will aid the Executive in enforcing existing laws, and which will enable the congress to enact additional legislation, if any should be found necessary, in order to prevent the few from obtaining privileges at the expense of diminished opportunities for the many.

The consistent policy of the National government, so far as it has the power, is to hold in check the unscrupulous man, whether employer or employe; but to refuse to weaken individual initiative or to hamper or cramp the industrial development of the country. We recognize that this is an era of federation and combination, in which great capitalistic corporations and labor unions have become factors of tremendous importance in all industrial centers. Hearty recognition is given the far-reaching, beneficent work which has been accomplished through both corporations and unions, and the line as between different corporations, as between different unions, is drawn as it is between different individuals; that is, it is drawn on conduct, the effort being to treat both organized capital and organized labor alike; asking nothing save that the interest of each shall be brought into harmony with the interest of the general public, and that the conduct of each shall conform to the fundamental rules of obedience to law, of individual freedom, and of justice and fair dealing toward all. Whenever either corporation, labor-union, or individual, disregards the law or acts in a spirit of arbitrary and tyrannous interference with the rights of others, whether corporations or individuals, then where the federal government has jurisdiction it will see to it that the misconduct is stopped, paying not the slightest heed to the position or power of the corporation, the union or the individual, but only to one vital fact—that is, the question

whether or not the conduct of the individual or aggregate of individuals is in accordance with the law of the land.

The laws relating to the proper conduct of the public service in general and to the due administration of the Post Office Department have been notoriously violated, and many indictments have been found, and the consequent prosecutions are in course of hearing or on the eve thereof. For the reasons thus indicated, and so that the government may be prepared to enforce promptly and with the greatest effect the due penalties for such violations of law, and to this end may be furnished with sufficient instrumentalities and competent legal assistance for the investigations and trials which will be necessary at many different points of the country, I urge upon the congress the necessity of making the said appropriation available for immediate use for all such purposes, to be expended under the direction of the Attorney-General.

When the congress directed that we should take the Panamá route under treaty with Colombia, the essence of the condition, of course, referred not to the government which controlled that route, but to the route itself; to the territory across which the route lay, not to the name which for the moment the territory bore on the map. The purpose of the law was to authorize the President to make a treaty with the power in actual control of the Isthmus of Panamá. This purpose has been fulfilled.

Immediately after the adjournment of the congress a revolution broke out in Panamá. The people of Panamá had long been discontented with the Republic of Colombia, and they had been kept quiet only by the prospect of the conclusion of the treaty, which was to them a matter of vital concern. When it became evident that the treaty was hopelessly lost, the people of Panamá rose literally as one man. The duty of the United States in the premises was clear. In strict accordance with the principles laid down by Secretaries Cass and Seward in the official documents above quoted, the United States gave notice that it would permit the landing of no expeditionary force, the arrival of which would mean chaos and destruction along the line of the railroad and of the proposed canal, and an interruption of transit as an inevitable consequence. The *de facto* government of Panamá was recognized.

Under such circumstances the government of the United States would have been guilty of folly and weakness, amounting in their sum to a crime against the nation, had it acted otherwise than it did when the revolution of Nov. 3 last took place in Panamá. This great enterprise of building the inter-oceanic canal can not be held up to gratify the whims, or out of



respect to the governmental impotence, or to the even more sinister and evil political peculiarities, of people who, though they dwell afar off, yet against the wish of the actual dwellers on the isthmus, assert an unreal supremacy over the territory. The possession of a territory fraught with such peculiar capacities as the isthmus in question carries with it obligations to mankind. The course of events has shown that this canal can not be built by private enterprise, or by any other nation than our own; therefore, it must be built by the United States.

Every effort has been made by the government of the United States to persuade Colombia to follow a course which was essentially not only to our interests and to the interests of the world, but to the interests of Colombia herself. These efforts have failed; and Colombia, by her persistence in repulsing the advances that have been made, has forced us, for the sake of our own honor, and of the interest and well-being, not merely of our own people, but of the people of the Isthmus of Panamá and the people of the civilized countries of the world, to take decisive steps to bring to an end a condition of affairs which had become intolerable. The new republic of Panamá immediately offered to negotiate a treaty with us. This treaty I herewith submit.

<b>President's</b>	President Roosevelt's message to the Fifty-
<b>Message</b>	eighth Congress is saved from being a per-
<b>—Comment</b>	functory statement of administrative condi-

tions by the consideration given in it by him to the first and last subjects which come up for treatment. The President has evidently been led to believe that one of the chief criticisms made against him and his executive policy are his views concerning the public control of corporations. He has probably reason to realize that he is not looked upon in a friendly way by those representing great corporate interests, and in view of the fact that an election is approaching he apparently considers it necessary to do what he can in this official statement to quiet the fears of those representing these great corporate interests. President Roosevelt might have spared himself this excess of protestation, for there is little probability that it will strengthen him in the opinion of those who represent the great corporate interests, who have made up their minds that the President is an unsafe man.

It is beyond the possibility of denial that when we forcibly prevented the Colombian government from landing troops at Panamá for the purpose of asserting its sovereignty we violated the obligation which the treaty imposes upon us. The government at Bogota is entirely justified in stating that the



United States authorities have deprived it of sovereignty on the isthmus when by our warships we prevented the landing there of Colombian troops sent for the purpose of suppressing what is held to be a rebellion. In accordance with the dictum of Secretary Cass, action of this kind was justified on the dog in the manger principle, and why could not the President have had the boldness to thus affirm our position instead of apparently making it appear that our action in this instance was in no respect different from what it would have been if Germany or Russia or some other great power had had control and had exercised sovereignty over the isthmus?—*Boston Herald*.

There is no part of President Roosevelt's third annual message which should receive more careful consideration, by congress, by the enlightened press of the country, and by American citizens of all parties, than the comparatively inconspicuous recommendation which is tucked away in the midst of his fearless phrases denouncing bribery and corruption in public life.

Indeed, this is a matter of the utmost importance and urgency, if the distinction between specific appropriations by congress and irresponsible expenditures by the President is to be preserved as one of the mainstays of republican institutions.

And the matter of the greatest concern is not the slender possibility that congress may vote away its constitutional function in this particular and thus afford a precedent for a further invasion of its prerogatives by the Executive, but that there should actually be in the White House a President capable of imagining and proposing the transfer—and this in the year preceding his intended campaign for re-election.—*The New York Sun*.

The time will come when just-minded men will wish that that part of President Roosevelt's message in which he explains and defends his course upon the Isthmus of Panamá might be expunged from the national records. The sentiments he avows and the principles he lays down are flagrantly at war with a great, and, until this time, a growing body of sound national tradition, and with rules of conduct in international relations which have gained for us the respect of the world's lawgivers. No English judge will ever quote from the President's utterances concerning Panamá, as English judges have repeatedly quoted from the opinions of our supreme court which have gradually built up the unassailable American doctrine of neutrality. In fact, between what the President now says and what former Presidents and Secretaries of State have said

in respect to this identical matter, we are forced to make our choice. Adhering to one, we must reject the other. The doctrines of Roosevelt are incompatible with the doctrines of Marcy, of Seward, of Fish, of Evarts, of Cleveland, and of a long line of Secretaries of State and of Presidents from the beginning of the republic.—*The New York Times*.

He has acted in line with the traditions of our diplomacy, with the desires of our people, with the needs of commerce, and with the interests and the sentiment of all civilized nations. The senate should confirm the treaty without unnecessary delay. There should be no party division on that question. If party lines are drawn on the matter by the Democracy, that party will make a mistake of the first magnitude—in other words, an irreparable, unpatriotic, and an idiotic mistake.—*Brooklyn Eagle*.

Any delay, even of a month, would have caused the isthmus to be bathed in blood, for the people of Panamá were prepared for the most determined resistance in their history, and Colombia would not have allowed them to depart permanently till every effort to force them back had been exhausted. Time is certain to vindicate the action of the American government, and that very speedily. Indeed, the civilized world has done so, with slight exceptions, already.—*New York Mail and Express*.

**Panamá Revolution and the United States** President Roosevelt first tried one method alone, that of trying to come to an amicable understanding with the Republic of Colombia. He has at least two other methods that he may try. He may, in the second place, wait for the outbreak of the revolution which, as may be seen elsewhere in our dispatches, is smoldering in the State of Panamá, and until the state declares itself independent, as it did twice in the last century, in 1840 and in 1856; then he will have to treat only with the State of Panamá.

But he may, above all, in the third place, exact from the Republic of Colombia itself, on the strength of former engagements, what it refused to yield with good grace.

If our information is correct, it is to this third method, to this legal coercion exercised on the strength of a treaty, that President Roosevelt has decided to have recourse in order to obtain from the Republic of Colombia the control which it is indispensable for him to have on the territory needed for the working of the canal. No one could blame President Roosevelt for making use even of force in order to obtain that which



right secures to him and which can not be obtained graciously.—*Bunau-Varilla's Forecast of Panamá Crisis, September 2.*

Has the action of the United States in the Panamá-Colombian matter any legal justification in the precedents governing international intercourse? Or is it simply a "brutal aggression", to be classed in the category with the dismemberment of Poland? Does international practice admit that a powerful nation, or a body of powerful nations, can, in "the interests of civilization and the general welfare", ignore the usual rights and obligations of international law and execute what would otherwise be an act of "brutal aggression"? . . .

Intervention is justified on two distinct grounds—the one legal, the other political. The legal justification for intervention can be summarized under two heads: (1) to preserve the national existence, (2) to put a stop to a gross breach of international law in a case where the national existence of the intervening state is not threatened. Justification on either of these grounds has never been asserted by the most ardent supporters of the administration. . . . An opportunity was offered through the intervention of the United States to put an end, peaceably, for all time to the whole difficulty. The chief criticism of the course taken should not be a criticism of the action, but rather of the reasons advanced for the action. Had the administration stated squarely that it intervened in the interests of civilization to put an end to an intolerable condition, no one could reasonably have questioned the proceedings. It would, too, have been more in keeping with the historic straightforwardness of American diplomacy.—*Geo. W. Scott, Ph.D., in The Outlook.*

I want to know, and the American want to know, and have a right to know, whether this mighty policeman on the Isthmus, seeing a man about to attack another, is justified before the blow is struck in manacling the assailed party, and whether, after the assault has been made, the policeman is justified in claiming that the pocketbook which had been taken from the victim by the assailant should be turned over to the policeman on the ground that he was the rightful owner?

It may be said that it is almost an affront, certainly a great incivility, to ask such a question. It may be said that anybody who knows the President knows that he is incapable of intrigue or indirection or artifice. And from all I have ever said or known, Mr. Roosevelt is the last man living who would be capable of such a thing as that. His faults, if he have them, I have always expected would come from a brave and honest



and perhaps somewhat impetuous nature that would ever seek to attain great objects in a great way.

But the President himself has suggested and invited the desire for this explanation. He thought it due to himself that the American people should know that nothing of the kind could be imputed to him. He has repelled with scorn the suggestion of such an imputation.

I did not think myself that such an assurance to the public was at all necessary. If the President had sent for any member of the senate and had proposed to show him that message, he would, I think, have been told there was no occasion for him to seek to prove by any evidence beyond that of his own character that he had had nothing to do with any indirection or artifice. But he decided otherwise.

And, having decided otherwise, I suppose he will like to have the imperfect evidence afforded by the communication to the house of representatives and by the message at the beginning of the present session made complete, and whatever is lacking to a complete answer to the charges which have been made in the press supplied.—*Senator Hoar, in U. S. Senate.*

We are prepared to defend Panamá. We are prepared to defend the interests of the United States on the isthmus. The navy is well represented at Colon and the city of Panamá and at other points on the coast. Marines have been landed at points threatened by invasion. Rear Admiral Evans, in command of the Asiatic squadron, is moving with six of his most powerful vessels to Honolulu, from which point he can proceed rapidly to the western coast of Colombia.

Of our army of 60,000 officers and men, 42,000 are in the United States. Twenty-five thousand seasoned troops, cavalry, infantry, and artillery, could be moved at once to the isthmus in case of war. The general staff will know, in case of war, just where to place this army to best accomplish the purpose of the United States.

This is not a threat against Colombia. The threatening has been on the other side. This is simply a notification that, if Colombia makes war on Panamá, the United States will be prepared to defend Panamá.—*Chicago Inter-Ocean.*

**The Postal Scandals** The discussion of the "Tulloch charges" has revealed the existence of deplorable and gravely discreditable abuses during the years 1898, 1899, and 1900, in the Washington post office and the offices of the first assistant postmaster-general.

These abuses involved conduct on the part of various public

officials which was certainly often illegal and may have been sometimes criminal, but such offenses, if committed, were in all cases committed more than three years before we were ordered to investigate the "charges", and so far as we are clearly informed, more than three years before Mr. Tulloch's interview of May 1 last.

We very respectfully recommend:

(1) That a thorough investigation be ordered, if it has not been already ordered;

(a) Of the administration of the Washington Post Office;

(b) Of the administration of the New York Post Office;

and,

(c) Of the administration of the office of the first assistant postmaster-general within the past three years.

(2) That a carefully chosen small commission be appointed by the President to report a plan whereby the work of the offices of the comptroller and of the several auditors may be removed from all political, personal, or other extraneous influences, the officials therein employed protected from injury through the enmities they may incur through the discharge of their duties and the competency and independence of all engaged in this branch of the government secured through their selection by free competition, promotion for merit only, and assurance of tenure during the continuance of fidelity and efficiency on their own part.—*From Report of Messrs. Bonaparte and Conrad.*

There is but one right and safe course for the administration in respect to the frauds and stealings in the Post Office Department. President Garfield's order, "Cut the ulcer to the bone," given to the Attorney-General when the prosecution of the Star Route thieves was undertaken, must be repeated now. Happily, that is the spirit unmistakably exhibited in President Roosevelt's memorandum accompanying the Bristow report. The report of Mr. Bristow and the report just made public of Mr. Holmes Conrad and Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte, special counsel engaged to investigate the Tulloch charges, should remove all doubt or hesitation from the mind of every member of the administration.—*New York Times.*

President Roosevelt is bound to follow up the Bonaparte and Conrad report. He appointed these men as independent outsiders whose reputation would guarantee the quality of their work, and he told them to drive the knife in up to the hilt. They have driven it in up to several officials, including the postmaster-general. The country confidently looks to the



President for summary action in the case of every guilty official.  
—*New York Evening Post*.

Both the President and the fourth assistant postmaster-general bear witness that the originator of this inquiry and its moving and directing spirit throughout was Postmaster-General Payne. The absurd theory started in some quarters, either through sheer malice or a gross misrepresentation of Mr. Payne's previous career and personality, that Mr. Payne for some inscrutable reason was inclined to deprecate and check an investigation so manifestly to the advantage and credit of his own administration is thus finally disposed of. . . .  
—*Wisconsin Sentinel*.

**Mr. Roosevelt and** There has been an unwritten law, usually recognized by political managers, that no candidate  
**the Presidential**  
**Nomination** should be accorded a nomination for the highest office in the land who could not show at least a fighting chance for carrying his own state. New York has been classed as Republican, or as doubtful, by political forecasters, but it is today neither Republican nor doubtful, if these estimates are to be trusted. It is claimed that the triumph of the Democracy in New York city has transferred the state to the Democratic column, and it will be accounted as Democratic in political calculations of the immediate future. Per contra, the later returns show that the Republican vote is notably heavier in the interior of the state, and it will require a good deal more than 63,000 Democratic majority in New York city to make the state Democratic.—*Philadelphia Telegraph*.

A year ago every well-informed person on the subject of national politics took it as a foregone conclusion that President Roosevelt would receive the Republican nomination to succeed himself. That was the belief both of Republicans and Democrats. Great stress was laid on his popularity as a "Rough Rider" in the West, to which was added the general favor he had gained by his attacks on the trusts. Since then, his raid upon the Isthmus of Panamá, and his headlong forcing into existence an Isthmian canal treaty, have brought to him great admiration and applause from those of his countrymen who believe that overbearing insolence and domineering arrogance are the proper treatment by the United States of foreign countries. So much has been said about the shirt-sleeve diplomacy of the Americans, that a notion has arisen that boots and spurs should be added to the coatless costume of our diplomats. The rough-riding behavior of President Roosevelt in the Panamá



affair seems, in the opinion of many of all political parties, just to fill the bill. But while the President has been gaining favor in some quarters he has been losing it in others that are far more powerful than the admirers of boots and spurs in dealing with foreign powers.—*New Orleans Picayune*.

There is no possible doubt that a fierce drive is being made against President Roosevelt in the hope of frustrating the wish of the people for his renomination. The fight is partly in the open and partly from behind abundant cover. The bushwhacker and the cavalryman are both in it. Democratic managers realize that there could be no better start for their otherwise forlorn hope than the disappointment that would follow the turning-down of Mr. Roosevelt, while influential elements in the business world, indignant that he has stood in the way of their imperial and threatening schemes of consolidation, think they want him set aside and somebody more pliant substituted, Democrat or Republican, as the case may be, but no more Roosevelt.—*Hartford Courant*.

The talk among Republicans about making Senator Hanna their party candidate next year continues. Members of congress returning to Washington report that they heard it among their constituents, and they seem to think that it will not be easily stopped. . . . While President Roosevelt is undoubtedly the choice of a great majority of Republicans today for the Presidential nomination, it is possible that circumstances will so change that when the national convention meets it may be considered advisable to put Senator Hanna at the head of the ticket. This, however, is highly improbable, the great mass of the people, without regard to party, being pleased with President Roosevelt and his administration.—*Denver Republican*.

**Supreme Court** Whatever may have been the motives that con-  
**and Eight-hour** trolled the enactment of the statute in ques-  
**Law** tion, we can imagine no possible ground to  
dispute the power of the state to declare that no one under-  
taking work for it, or for one of its municipal agencies, shall  
permit or require an employe on such work to labor in excess  
of eight hours each day, and to inflict punishment on contrac-  
tors who disregard such a regulation. It can not be deemed  
a part of the liberty of any contractor that he be allowed to do  
public work in any mode he may choose to adopt without regard  
to the wishes of the state. On the contrary, it belongs to the  
state, as the guardian and trustee of its people, to prescribe the  
conditions upon which it will permit public work to be done.

So, also, if it be said that a statute like the one before us is mischievous in its tendencies, the answer is that the responsibility therefor rests upon legislators, not upon the courts.—*Decision of Supreme Court on Kansas Eight-hour Law.*

The state courts have in general been unfriendly to legislation limiting the hours of labor for male adults. The Illinois court swept aside a statute of this character on the ground that it interfered with primary personal rights. The Massachusetts court took a like course. A number of decisions have refused to give judicial sanction to acts imposing eight hours on all varieties of municipal labor. When the federal supreme court held the Utah miners' eight-hour law valid it went farther than any court of the first rank had before been willing to go. The court, indeed, narrowly confined itself to the view that a miner's labors had special risks and dangers which gave the legislature the right, under the police power, of imposing limitations on hours as much as on safety appliances, but the decision, for the first time, clearly established the principle that in employments bearing unusual risks an adult male could not decide his risks for himself. Two points are now clearly established by these two decisions. First, a legislature can apply the eight-hour rule to particular industries. Second, it can require this limitation on all public works. Whether to ordinary work the eight-hour rule could be applied by law for adult males remains undecided.—*Philadelphia Press.*

The wisdom of eight-hour legislation for able-bodied men in most employments is open to very serious question. If the men be not exhausted by ten-hours' work, but produce more in ten hours than in eight, then the workmen themselves and the entire community are the losers by the unnecessary idleness. There are employments so exhausting that an eight-hour day is more economic than a ten-hour day. In some machine shops it has been found that shortening the working day has rather increased the efficiency of the men and of the plant, and has proved as advantageous to the employer as to the men. But while the wisdom of eight-hour legislation is thus a subject of dispute, the power of the state to impose it seems reasonable enough. The employment of women and children is regulated by considerations of the public health. The employment of able-bodied men an unreasonable number of hours upon public conveyances might be wisely prevented out of regard to the public safety. The power of the legislature to prohibit employment under conditions detrimental to the well-being of the men employed would seem to be in entire



harmony with established principles of legislative power.—*Philadelphia Record*.

Death of Herbert Spencer It was a heart-breaking program that Spencer laid down for himself. In bad health, with few signs of public favor, he went on steadily. Time and again there were indications that he would not live to bring out the closing volume of the *Synthetic Philosophy*. He spent his own money publishing his books, but he never wavered in his determination. It is to the eternal credit of educated America that the first signs of the turn of the tide came from this side of the Atlantic. Spencer's greatness was recognized by the rank and file of thinking men here long before his countrymen saw the light. . . . He lived to see the envy and malice and all uncharitableness of the orthodox of the middle of the nineteenth century turn to respect and regard. Above all, he enjoyed the greatest of all blessings—he saw his work completed.—*New York Sun*.

In every department of his strenuous and long-maintained activity he did much for the promotion of profitable thought, for the elevating and broadening of intellectual vision, and for the advancement of the mental and moral welfare of the human race. There was not one of his colleagues who was not personally better known to the world than this life-long recluse. There was not one whose life and work became better known. There was not one who aroused stronger antagonism or inspired more loyal discipleship. There was not one more clearly entitled to the grateful esteem of his contemporaries and to the honor and fame of all future time.—*New York Tribune*.

He was not the least—perhaps he was the greatest—of that famous Victorian quartet that did more than any other four men of their era to revolutionize the world's thinking with respect to some of its greatest interests. With Darwin, Tyndall, and Huxley, he helped to break down the old conservatism and conceptions of the meaning of life and destiny, establish new standards and give new interpretations to old phenomena which have been and still are working their way into general acceptance by their inherent strength and vitality. They have changed the world's ideas and the world's attitude toward theology, physical and social science, and the origin and end of man.—*Boston Transcript*.

No one ever was more thoroughly dedicated to the pursuit of truth. For some years he was not only dedicated, but self-



sacrificed to it. The scantiness of Milton's payment for "Paradise Lost" is a byword. Herbert Spencer's early works required for their publication the aid of friends, and it is strange to compare his wages with those of the writers of second-rate novels.

Spencer is entitled to rank among discoverers, for he treated the mental development of men on the principle of evolution some years before the appearance of the "Origin of Species". As a moral philosopher, he dealt with the moral and social nature of men by a method derived from his study of biological science. If the results of that method leave something to be desired when it is applied to the spiritual and æsthetic elements of humanity, it was in itself sound as well as an antidote to chimeras and fallacies.

In the conflict between Spencer and Carlyle, Carlyle is logically annihilated; yet we find that something perhaps not logical or biological is left. Spencer was a thoroughgoing free-thinker. He came at a time when all the old traditions and sanctions had been destroyed or undermined by science and criticism while nothing had yet come to take their place. But he was not destructive. On the contrary, he was a builder of morality and society on a biological foundation, and his work, if it is not destined to be final, will certainly be lasting.—*Goldwin Smith, in the Sun.*

Japan and Russia	It gives us profound cause for rejoicing that the friendly relations between our empire and other treaty powers ever continue to grow. As regards the negotiations concerning the important diplomatic matter of maintaining peace in the Orient and our rights, we have instructed our ministers to carefully attend to their duties. We have instructed our ministers to make a financial scheme and introduce it in the diet budget for the next fiscal year with other bills. You are required to discharge your duties and meet our wishes by harmonious, careful discussions.— <i>Emperor's Address on Opening Japanese Diet.</i>
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Your majesty has been gracious enough to open parliament personally today, delivering a cordial message, which has been received with great gratitude by this house. The empire of Japan is now at its zenith. Its position is one that has not been paralleled in the last thousand years.

The members of your majesty's house of representatives profoundly regret that at a juncture so critical, involving the fate of the nation, the course pursued by the cabinet is ill adapted

to the needs of the situation and is not consistent with the enhancement of the national influences.

The policy of the ministry has been shown to be inconsistent with the progress of the empire, being purely domestic and temporizing. Their diplomacy is a failure, and we humbly appeal to your majesty to review the situation. Solicitude for the progress of the empire dictates this reply, which represents the national expectations.—*Reply of Lower House of Diet to Emperor's Speech.*

Such a reply to a speech from the throne is absolutely unprecedented. It virtually amounts to the impeachment of the cabinet. It creates an abnormal and critical situation. The supporters of the government now declare that the reply was rushed through the house with impetuous acclamation by the opposition, without an opportunity being given them to interfere with its adoption. Several members have asked the president to reconsider the reply, but they have all met with an absolute refusal. Among the objectors is Marquis Saïenje, head of the Seiyukai, or Constitutional party. The incident is now a matter of excited speculation here and in other cities of Japan.—*New York Sun.*

The question of Korea, more specifically the question of Yongampho, is a fighting matter in the minds of all Japanese. No Japanese government could stand which should surrender what all Japanese believe to be the rights and interests of their country in the peninsula. As *The Times* correspondent puts it, "they see another Port Arthur in Yongampho, another Liaotung in the Yalu Valley." It is inconceivable that the Japanese government should accede to the Russian pretensions.—*New York Times.*

<p><b>General</b> <b>Wood's</b> <b>Promotion</b></p>	<p>Leonard Wood entered the military service as an assistant surgeon in the Medical Department, with the rank of first lieutenant, mounted, on January 5th, 1886. There is a law which has been in existence from time immemorial which provides that an assistant surgeon in the army shall be promoted to the grade of captain, mounted, after five years' service, on passing the prescribed examination. Under the provisions of this law Leonard Wood became a captain, mounted, in the Medical Department of the army on January 5th, 1891. At that time the length of service required to attain the grade of captain in the line of the</p>
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army varied from about ten years in some cases to about thirty years in others, the average being about twenty years. So when Leonard Wood became a captain on January 5th, 1891, he "jumped" all the first lieutenants in the line of the army, cavalry, artillery and infantry, some five hundred in number at that time, all of whom were his natural seniors in age and length of service. This was a matter of small consequence as long as he remained in the Medical Department, but when he was translated to the line of the army, it became a serious matter indeed.—*The Independent*.

The personal objections to General Wood are, in large part, if not wholly, brought forward by Major Rathbone, and include several distinct matters. Some of these relate to the orders given by General Wood with relation to the prosecution of Major Rathbone and others accused of postal frauds in Cuba. It is not denied that such frauds did exist, and that in one or more cases the convictions were just, and, this being the case, those who believe that administrative honesty is a thing to be attained by all lawful means will regard with some suspicion the source of these charges. But it is also asserted that General Wood granted, or helped to grant, a ten-years' concession to the managers of an athletic game called Jai Alai, which, it is alleged, is carried on chiefly for gambling purposes, and that he received as a testimonial, and largely from the promoters of this affair, a silver service valued at five thousand dollars.—*The Outlook*.

#### Current Price Comparisons

The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates:

	Dec. 12, 1902	Nov. 19, 1903	Dec. 15, 1903
Flour, Minn. patent (bbl. 196 lbs.)..	\$ 4.10	\$ 4.80	\$ 4.85
Wheat, No. 2 (red) bushel).....	79½	86½	90½
Corn, No. 2 mixed (bushel).....	64	50½	52½
Oats, No. 2 mixed (bushel).....	37½	41½	41½
Pork, mess (bbl. 200 lbs.).....	18.00	13.25	13.00
Beef, Ham (bbl. 200 lbs.).....	21.00	21.25	21.25
Coffee, Rio No. 7 (lb.).....	5½	6 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	7
Sugar, Granulated, Standard (lb.)..	4 <sup>9</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	4 <sup>70</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	4 <sup>45</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Butter, creamery, extra (lb.).....	30	23	25
Cheese, State f. c., small fancy (lb.)	13½	11½	12
Cotton, middling upland (lb.).....	8 <sup>55</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	11 <sup>85</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	12 <sup>45</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Print Cloths (yard).....	3	3½	3½
Petroleum, bulk, N. Y. (gal.).....	8 <sup>9</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	6 <sup>40</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	6 <sup>6</sup> / <sub>10</sub>
" N. Y., refined in bbls. (gal.)...	14	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	9½



	Dec. 12, 1902	Nov. 19, 1903	Dec. 15, 1903
Hides, native steers (lb.).....	—	10½	10½
Leather, hemlock (lb.).....	24½	23½	23½
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry, (ton 2000 lbs.).....	23.00	16.00	15.50
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry, ton 2000 lbs.).....	22.00	14.25	13.75
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.).....	25.45	25.10	27.65
Copper, Lake ingot. (100 lbs.).....	11.65	13.25	12.35
Lead, domestic (100 lbs.).....	4.12½	4.50	4.25
Tinplate (100 lbs., I. C., 14x20).....	3.95	4.40	3.95
Steel rails (ton 2000 lbs.).....	28.00	28.00	28.00
Wire nails (Pittsburg) (keg 100 lbs.)....	1.90	2.00	1.85
Steers, prime, Chicago (100 lbs.)....	6.10	5.40	5.45
Fine Silver (per ounce) (latest official report).....	47½	58½	.6165
Bullion value silver dollar.....	37	.4339	.4729
Ratio gold to silver.....	1-43 <sup>9</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	1:35.24	1:33.80

The range of prices of agricultural products, as given by the government *Crop Reporter*:

	1898 Dec.	1899 Dec.	1900 Dec.	1901 Dec.	1902 Dec.	1903 Dec.
Wheat, No. 2 red, N.Y. (bush.)	.81½	.76	.85½	.89½	.80½	.94½
Corn, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.38	.31½	.40½	.66½	.57½	.42½
Corn, No. 2, N. Y. (bush.)	.44½	.40½	.48	.74½	.64	.52½
Oats, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.27½	.23	.22½	.48½	.32	.35½
Rye, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.55½	.52	.49½	.65½	.49½	.52
Hay, No. 1, Timothy, Chic. (ton)	8.25	11.50	14.00	13.90	13.00	12.00
Potatoes, N. Y. (180 lbs.)	1.62	2.00	1.87	2.87	2.00	2.37
Hops, choice, N. Y. (lb.)	.18	.20	.14	.21	.38	.32
Wool, xx, washed, N.Y., (lb.)	.29	.39	.30	.27	.39	.32
" best tub washed, St. L. (lb.)	.26	.35	.29½	.24½	.29	.30½
Hogs, Chicago (100 lbs.)	3.75	4.45	5.45	6.70	6.85	4.55
Butter, creamery ex, N.Y., (lb.)	.23½	.28	.26	.25½	.30	.25½
" Elgin	.22	.27	.25	.24½	.29	.25
Eggs, best fresh, N. Y. (doz.)	.27	.24	.29	.31	.29	.40
" " St. Louis (doz.)	.20	.17	.23	.25	.22½	.27
Cheese, Sept. col'd. N. Y.	.10½	.13	.11½	.11½	.13½	.12
" Full Cream, St. Louis	.10½	.12½	.11½	.11½	.14	.11½

*Dun's Review* shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities:

	Dec. 1 1898	Dec. 1 1899	Dec. 1 1900	Dec. 1 1901	Dec. 1 1902	Dec. 1 1903
Breadstuffs.....	\$13.186	12.990	13.843	19.528	17.449	16.348
Meats.....	7.215	7.984	8.269	9.259	9.935	7.956
Dairy, garden..	11.388	12.782	13.887	15.675	14.656	14.573
Other foods....	8.902	9.076	9.544	9.081	8.913	9.648
Clothing.....	14.105	17.314	15.744	15.331	15.781	16.822
Metals.....	11.892	18.053	15.235	15.722	17.178	16.031
Miscellaneous...	12.491	16.232	15.872	16.782	16.537	16.845
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$79.179</b>	<b>94.431</b>	<b>92.394</b>	<b>101.378</b>	<b>100.449</b>	<b>98.223</b>

The average prices of sixty railway stocks, ten industrial and five city traction and gas stocks are given in *Dun's Review*:

	Dec. 31, 1901.	Dec. 12, 1902.	Nov. 13, 1903.	Dec. 11, 1903.
Average, 60 railway.....	102.99	103.03	84.32	87.64
" 10 industrial .....	63.45	57.48	42.90	45.61
" 5 city traction, etc.	137.37	130.45	110.83	118.38

Prices of certain significant stocks on the New York stock exchange, as given by *Bradstreet's*:

	Range during 1902		Closing Nov. 13, 1903	Prices Dec. 11, 1903
	Highest	Lowest		
Amer. Beet Sugar (com.).....	30	30	—	—
Amer. Beet (pref.).....	—	—	—	—
Amer. Sugar Ref. (com.).....	135½	113	116½	123
Amer. Sugar Ref. (pref.).....	—	—	119½	—
Amer. Tobacco (pref.).....	151½	140	—	—
Cont. Tobacco (pref.).....	126½	114	101	104½
Gt. Northern Ry. (pref.).....	203	181½	—	—
International Paper (pref.).....	77½	70	60½	63
N. Y. Central R. R.....	168½	147	116½	118
Pennsylvania R. R.....	170	147	113½	116½
Reading R. R. (1st pf.).....	90½	79½	76	77
Southern Pacific Ry.....	81	56	41½	46½
U. S. Rubber.....	—	—	8	10
U. S. Rubber (pref.).....	63½	49½	—	—
U. S. Steel (com.).....	46½	29½	10½	10
" " (pref.).....	97½	79	52½	52½
Western Union Tel.....	97½	84½	82½	87

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*:

	Dec. 5, 1902	Nov. 7, 1903	Dec. 5, 1903
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	5 10 0	5 10 0	5 10 0
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2 14 4	2 8 9	2 8 9
Copper	50 13 9	57 17 6	55 0 2½
Tin, Straits	114 2 6	116 2 6	119 5 0
Tin Plate (108 lbs., I. C., 14x20) ..	— — —	0 11 7	0 11 3
Sugar, granulated (112 lbs.).....	— — —	0 16 1½	0 16 6
Lead, Eng. pig (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	10 18 9	11 8 9	11 6 3
Cotton, middling upland (lb.).....	0 0 3½	0 0 4½	0 0 4½
Petroleum (gallon).....	0 0 5½	0 0 6½	0 0 7½

(American equivalents of English money: pound—\$4.866; shilling—24.3 cents; penny—2.03 cents.)





## THE AMERICAN TARIFF SYSTEM

First, that the policy which we have been considering ought to continue to be regarded as the genuine American system.

Secondly, that the free trade system, which is proposed as its substitute, ought really to be considered as the British colonial system.

Thirdly, that the American system is beneficial to all parts of the Union, and absolutely necessary to much the larger portion.

Fourthly, that the price of the great staple of cotton, and of all of our chief productions of agriculture, has been sustained and upheld, and a decline averted, by the protective system.

Fifthly, that if the foreign demand for cotton has been at all diminished, the diminution has been more than compensated in the additional demand created at home.

Sixthly, that the constant tendency of the system, by creating competition among ourselves, and between American and European industry, reciprocally acting upon each other, is to reduce prices of manufactured objects.

Seventhly, that, in point of fact, objects within the scope of the policy of protection have greatly fallen in price.

Eightly, that, if in a season of peace, these benefits are experienced, in a season of war, when the foreign supply might be cut off, they would be much more extensively felt.

Ninthly, and finally, that the substitution of the British colonial system for the American system, without benefiting any section of the Union, by subjecting us to a foreign legislation, regulated by foreign interests, would lead to the prostration of our manufacturing, general impoverishment, and ultimate ruin.

—Henry Clay, on "*The American System*," in *U. S. Senate. 1832*

# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

## IDA TARBELL'S TALE OF THE STANDARD OIL

IN MODERN journalism the secret of circulation is sensation, and the most resourceful subject for sensation is feeding the popular prejudice against large corporations. This field has been worked with great success by a certain class of journals. Cartoons and red ink have been devoted to no subject more liberally, or with greater success, than to the portrayal of the horror and havoc wrought by trusts. Daily papers that boast most of their circulation are given over more completely to this work of "warning" the "poor" against the destructive and oppressive power of "the rich."

The success in this field among "yellow" journals has evidently had its effect upon magazine publishers. A year ago *McClure's Magazine* decided to enter this field; and, not to be outdone, it took the Standard Oil Company for its theme. In November, 1902, it began the publication of what it called "The History of the Standard Oil Company", by Miss Ida Tarbell. By way of keeping up the interest, the story was so distributed as to extend over two years; the first half was completed in the November number. Of course, *McClure's Magazine* could not quite adopt the vulgar tactics of the *New York Journal*. Since it appeals to a superior audience, it must needs serve its sensation in a seemingly more refined manner and better literary style. In this it succeeded.

Miss Tarbell has certainly written a very readable story, and has succeeded in giving it an historical seeming, yet to those who are familiar with the literature on this subject, her so-called "History of the Standard Oil Company" is obviously the re-told tale of Henry D. Lloyd's "Wealth Against Commonwealth". The only essential difference between Lloyd's account and Tarbell's is that Lloyd gave his a frank, mean-

ingful title, while Miss Tarbell gave her's an entirely misleading one. Lloyd called his "Wealth Against Commonwealth", and the title of every chapter, like the title of the book, showed the animus of the writer. He announces that the purpose of his book was to show that great wealth and large corporations were enemies of the public weal, and this animus was sustained in every paragraph from cover to cover. It was written in a highly wrought, almost tragic, style, and everything was pictured in the most vivid and lurid colors, showing the wealthy as oppressors of the poor and the public, with the Standard Oil Company (Mr. John D. Rockefeller) as chief of sinners. From the very opening of Mr. Lloyd's book it was clear that he was writing as one who had taken a brief. While he was eloquent, pathetic, and tragic in turn, he told half truths and sometimes untruths, generally misrepresenting the real facts. Everything was so marshaled as to show Rockefeller a rogue, and the Standard Oil Company a tyranny over small competitors and the public.

Miss Tarbell sets out supposedly with a different object. She purports to be giving history, and would fain have her readers and the public believe that her motive is colorless, that she is telling the facts with stolid impartiality, and, as if to confirm this view she sometimes compliments Mr. Rockefeller and actually criticizes the "folly of the small competitors"; but one has only to follow her a little way to see that this is merely a little literary adroitness to cover the real purpose which is to fan popular fanaticism against so-called trusts in general, and against Mr. Rockefeller in particular.

In the number for November, 1903, Mr. McClure publishes (really an advertisement) what he calls an editorial announcement of Miss Tarbell's History of the Standard Oil Company. It briefly reviews the first half of the series and gives a hint of what is to be expected in the coming numbers. Perhaps the interest had begun to lag. Be that as it may, in this summary the real character and purpose of Miss Tarbell's tale is revealed. The character is clearly that of sensation, often misrepresentation, given in good literary form, and the purpose is that of promoting the rapidly increasing sentiment



for socialism. No one pretended that in the industrial struggles of the last thirty years, capitalists have always been guided by the Golden Rule, or that the ethics of industry have always been defensible. Yet common decency and honest literature demand that history of industrial doings be fairly presented. It is bad, indeed, for business men to get rich by questionable methods, but it is much worse for publishers to get rich by poisoning the public mind against the institutions of society through misrepresentations.

Mr. McClure begins by telling us that Mr. Rockefeller and his comrades had no advantage over their competitors, and says:

They were skilful and economical refiners, to be sure, but there were at least a score of others in the country as strong in these respects, nor had Mr. Rockefeller particularly developed any particularly remunerative markets for himself. He used those which had been created by the demands of trade, and by the enterprise of other men. Only one other department remains in which he might have secured an advantage over rivals—that is transportation—and it was here, as a matter of fact, that he worked.

There is nothing new or striking in this. That has been the case with all successful capitalists whose success depended upon their own energies and enterprise. Of course Mr. Rockefeller had no exceptional advantages, and it is because he succeeded in distancing all his competitors without having any exceptional advantages to begin with that he is the greatest living man in his field. Had he begun with a lot of advantages over others, there would have been nothing special in his success. But to attribute the success of Mr. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company to exceptional skill, ability, and management, would afford no room for sensational criticism. To serve such a purpose it must be shown that the success of this concern is not due to business methods and enterprise, but to wholesale swindling. In this respect Miss Tarbell and Mr. McClure have followed in the steps of Mr. Lloyd. In one of the early chapters of his book Lloyd told the story of the so-called "South Improvement Company", which procured an extraordinary charter from the Pennsylvania Legislature. It was

the purpose of those who procured this charter to control the entire oil transportation. Its scheme was to regulate the freight rates in such a way that those composing the South Improvement Company should have their products shipped at a very much less rate than other shippers, and in addition should have a rake-off from the rates paid by their competitors. Mr. Lloyd tells this in a most vivid way, as if it were the charter of the Standard Oil Company. He knew, and incidentally admits, that this charter never went into effect, and that this so-called South Improvement Company never did a dollar's worth of business. Yet he keeps this South Improvement Company before the eyes of his readers as if it were the working charter of the Standard Oil Company. There is scarcely a chapter in this book in which this does not occur. Mr. Lloyd knew that there was not a word of truth in this. He knew that the charter never was anything but a piece of paper, that it never had any effect, and that it had no connection with the present Standard Oil Company, and that if it had, it was not in any sense the cause of its success, because it never did a dollar's worth of business. To be sure, the scheme arranged for rebates and rake-offs, but they were no more real than were the mythical doings of Bellamy's Utopia. Of course it was to be expected that Miss Tarbell, writing a history, would not use this piece of sensational misrepresentation; but she not only used it, but used it with more effect, if possible, than did Mr. Lloyd. So important is this piece of fiction to Miss Tarbell's tale, that Colonel McClure must needs produce it in his brief summary. He says:

Not content, he entered in 1872 into a nefarious combination with the railroads known as the South Improvement Company, which not only gave him rates lower than others could get, but gave him *drawbacks on the shipments of other people!* that is, while Mr. Rockefeller paid \$1.50 to ship a barrel of refined oil to New York from Cleveland, his competitors paid \$2. and 50 cents of this money was turned over to Mr. Rockefeller! By means of the contracts obtained with the railroads at this time Mr. Rockefeller actually scared out of business twenty independent plants in Cleveland, Ohio, and in a few weeks increased his plant from a daily crude capacity of 1,500 barrels to one of about 10,000 barrels. Instead of being one of the ten leading refiners in the

United States he immediately became by this *coup* sevenfold as great as any rival, and he did it by as outrageous a piece of brigandage as was ever organized by Cartouche himself.

And again, on the same page, he adds: "In six years after the South Improvement Company, which gave him his first start, was broken up," etc., showing that he intends to convey the idea that this South Improvement Company was an actual organization and did business and gave Mr. Rockefeller "his first start", all of which Mr. McClure, Miss Tarbell, and Henry D. Lloyd knew to be untrue.

No defense can be offered for the charter of the South Improvement Company; it was truly a nefarious scheme, but it was not more nefarious than is the attempt at this late day to feed the flame of popular prejudice by representing a successful corporation as having got its first earnings under the operation of a charter which never had an existence. There is no condemnation of the author of the South Improvement Company charter which would not apply with increased force to the author of such a statement, especially when it is written in the pretended interest of business morals and wholesome public opinion.

Miss Tarbell's chief effort, of course, was to show that the present Standard Oil Company is in reality the old South Improvement Company. In this she has utterly failed. It is only necessary to look over the names of those who formed the South Improvement Company and those who control the Standard Oil Company to see that, with one or two exceptions, they are an entirely different set of men; moreover, the most conspicuous men in the Standard Oil Company, like Mr. John D. Archbold, H. H. Rogers, and Charles Pratt were the leaders of the opposition to the South Improvement Company and prevented its going into operation.

It will not be denied that the Standard Oil Company, in its early days (during the 70's) received rebates from the railroads, but so did everybody else. It was the common practise. Rebates and discounts were prominent features of all large businesses. All shippers knew it, and made the best terms they could with the railroads. The large shippers always made



better terms than small shippers. This has been an element in business ever since business began ; it is an element in business today ; it is an element in the buying of paper and the printing and publishing of a magazine. There is no business today in which the large purchasers do not have an advantage over the smaller purchasers, and there is no doubt whatever that Mr. Rockefeller was well to the front in everything that gave an advantage. Mr. McClure says : "Apologists forget, or are ignorant, that the contracts that gave the Standard Oil Company those early advantages were given by the railroads only through threats of taking away from them great bulks of freight." Of course they were. If the publisher of *McClure's Magazine* is purchasing 200 tons of paper, and he wants a liberal discount, he will threaten to give the order to some one else if he does not get it. He would be a poor business man if he did not.

At the time this "dickering" for railroad rates was so prevalent, the same habit prevailed in business in almost every line. One could hardly buy a thing without "dickering". If one went to purchase a suit of clothes, the price would be put up several dollars in order that the reduction might be made. It was a common thing for traveling men to have a line of discounts from ten per cent. to fifty per cent. from the card price. A large purchaser and a good payer would be quoted the card price, less forty per cent., less twenty per cent., less ten per cent. ; while a smaller purchaser, or a poorer payer, would be quoted less twenty per cent., less ten per cent., and a still poorer one, less ten per cent. ; and no customer would know what his competitor received.

All this has been eliminated from business during the last thirty years. Discounts from card prices are quoted according to length of credit, and in the retail trade (in all respectable houses) the one-price system has been established. In railroading (especially since the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission) rebates have practically disappeared. The rebate and the many-price system are vicious, but to attribute all the evils of them to the Standard Oil Company, or to pretend that the Standard Oil Company got

rebates and other people did not, is a discreditable way of discussing the subject.

In his review of the second part of Miss Tarbell's story, Mr. McClure refers to Mr. Rockefeller as master of a \$70,000,000 company, controlling the amount of refined oil manufactured, controlling its transportation, influencing and often dictating the price for the raw material, and fixing the price of the refined article. This is a hackneyed, half-statement, the effect of which is precisely the same as a falsehood. The idea that the Standard Oil Company fixes the price of both crude and refined oil at will is so often repeated that it is generally accepted without question, and of course the inference is that it fixes the price to the detriment alike of small competitors and the community. As a matter of fact, the Standard produces only about 40 per cent. of the crude oil, having to buy the remainder, and only about 80 per cent. of the refined. Clearly, therefore, if the independents were really desirous of giving the public oil at a lower price, they can do so, but in fact they never do. The independents, of which there are more than half a hundred, complain because the Standard does not keep the price high enough, and the Lloyds, Tarbells, and McClures complain because they keep it too high. The independents, some of whom have millions of investments, have never shown any disposition to give the public cheap oil. On the contrary, they are delighted when oil goes up, and clamor through the press and before the legislative committees and political meetings against the Standard when the price of oil goes down. If they were averagely sincere in their pretended interest in the public, they would take some initiative to reduce the price of their own oil; if they could not do it individually, they might easily do it collectively, but they never do. The truth is that the price of refined oil is never too high for them. When the public is taxed an extra cent a gallon, they are the happiest.

Whatever may be said of the Standard Oil Company, the independent refiners have never given any practical evidence that they are the friends of cheap oil for the consumer. Whenever the public received cheap oil, it was through the reduction in price against their will. If these independents would

all agree to furnish the public with refined oil at four or five cents a gallon, the Standard would be compelled to do likewise, or it would soon lose its business. There is no law or custom or other power to prevent their adopting this generous course toward the consumer. It is quite certain that the public would flock to them and they would get the business. Then why don't they do it? The obvious answer is, because they don't want to. That is exactly the thing that they do not like, that would lessen their profits and perhaps obliterate the profits of many of them. It is because the Standard keeps the price of oil so near the margin that their profits are small, that they rave against it. To be sure, its profits are large when theirs are small, and its profits probably would be very good even at a point that theirs would be wiped out, because it can do its business on so much smaller cost per unit than they can. For this reason, whether the price goes up or whether it goes down, the Standard gets more than they do, and that is why they hate it. Mr. McClure's statement that Mr. Rockefeller dictates the price, therefore, is only partly true.

The Standard Oil Company can dictate the price downward, it can lower the price of oil more than any of its competitors, because, as already stated, its margin of profit is the greatest by virtue of its superior method; but it can not dictate the price upward without the consent of the independents. Whenever the Standard puts the price of oil up, regardless of the cost of production, the independents need not put up theirs, and if they were half as honest as they are noisy, they would not. In that case, as already remarked, the Standard would be compelled to sell at the same price as they do or lose its business, but they were never known to do this in any circumstances. They always take the higher price, and let the Standard get the damning for the rise, and when the Standard lowers the price, they damn it for trying to crowd them out of business; so that the Standard gets damned whichever way the price goes; if it goes up, it's damned by the public; if it goes down, it is damned by the small competitor.

The Standard's part in fixing the price of crude oil is the most extraordinary thing in industrial experience. Although



it is based on good business principles, it is a perfect (if not generous) protection of the interests of the small oil producers. It is like this: Upon application, the Standard connects its pipe line with every oil well, however small the output. The standard buys, or is ready to buy, every gallon of crude oil that is produced. It pays the same price to everybody. By this plan the small producer, whose well yields only one or two barrels a day, gets the same price and has the same direct transportation as the largest well owner with his ten thousand barrels a day.

It fixes the price in the same way the Bank of England fixes the rate of international exchange, namely: when the stock of crude oil on hand increases above a certain point, it lowers the price, which tends to slacken the supply; when the stock diminishes, it raises the price, which tends to increase the supply. There is no other industry in the world in which there is a permanent and certain market every day for the entire product, and where the smallest producer is guaranteed the same price as his largest competitor, and always for spot cash the moment it is desired.

This system enables hundreds of small well-owners to make a living from small-yielding wells that would otherwise be impossible. If these small producers had to send their own oil to market and compete for the sale and price of it with the large well owners, they would in most cases not get enough from their small product to pay expenses. But by the Standard being the sole purchaser at the same price for all, the small producers get the same price for every gallon as their richest competitor.

This is the only instance in the world where the small producers are on an absolute equality in the market with the large ones.

Of all this Miss Tarbell said not a word. Probably because she didn't know anything about it. Outside of studying Lloyd and interviewing those who had a grievance, she has evidently taken little pains to get at the true inwardness of the case. Mr. Lloyd did not mention this part of the Standard's relation to the price of crude oil, hence Miss Tarbell knew nothing

of it. Yet she, like Lloyd, glibly writes of the Standard "dictating the price to be paid for the raw material and fixing the price of the refined article", as if it were crushing the life out of all small producers. The proper characterization of such "history" writing we leave to the reader.

Whatever may be the sins of the Standard Oil Company, its system of dealing with the producers of crude oil is the most equitable piece of price fixing to be found in the world.

In the first article of the second series, Miss Tarbell begins by confirming the proposition that the Standard Oil Company not only gets rebates, but has a kind of espionage over the business of its competitors. In proof of this she says:

There is probably not an independent oil concern in the country today which does not fully believe that the Standard secured regular reports of its business by underhand methods. Several gentlemen testified before the Industrial Commission to the belief that their business was under the constant espionage of the Standard Oil Company.

Miss Tarbell must think the readers of *McClure's* are easily convinced. The independents "fully believe", forsooth. These gentlemen testified to the "belief that their business was under espionage". Of course they believe it. People who are beaten always believe something bad about those who beat them. One might as well charge all employers with robbery, because laborers believe that profits are the exploitation of wages, and that all land owners are "thieves" because single taxers believe that "rent is robbery", and that all profits in protected industries are stealings because free-traders believe "protection is robbery". It is indeed true that the reports of the Industrial Commission are loaded down with testimony based on "belief". Everybody who had a grievance against a competitor or was opposed to a protection policy testified to the injury they "believed" was being perpetrated, and they often said they knew, when they only "believed". The animus of this Industrial Commission and the conduct of its hearings were generally directed against the Standard Oil Company. Of course the free-traders could not be excluded, and they gave their "belief" that injury was wrought by the tariff; and the laborers gave their "belief" that injury was wrought by em-

ployers; but, mainly, it was an opportunity for persons with a grievance against the Standard Oil Company to state their "belief" that its success was obtained by injuring them.

In the history of legislative commissions, there never was anything quite so scandalous as this Industrial Commission. Usually when the affairs of a particular industry or concern is to be investigated, common decency demands that parties directly interested shall not be on the jury. Yet in this case, though the commission was practically brought into existence to investigate the Standard Oil Company, the president of the Pure Oil Company, a company of several millions capital, and the strongest single competitor of the Standard, was made chairman, thus making the chief prosecutor foreman of the jury. Nothing quite so barefaced as this was ever before perpetrated in the name of a legislative investigation. Of course, much of the testimony before this commission was against the Standard Oil Company, because it was created for, and conducted by, those who had a grievance, and Miss Tarbell, like Mr. Lloyd, quotes the statements made before this commission as if they were verified facts, whereas most of them were *ex parte* statements born of a personal grievance and any rebuttal statement of the other side is seldom quoted.

Of course, no tale of Miss Tarbell's kind could be told without bringing in Mr. George Rice, and hence it is quite natural that his picture should appear in the first article of the second series. Mr. Rice is the man who Mr. Lloyd so graphically and pathetically described as being a young enterprising man, who came from the Green Mountains of Vermont to make an honest competency in the oil fields. The simple facts about Mr. Rice, which have previously been told in these pages, are that he located in Marietta, Ohio, had a plant worth \$25,000, and when the development of methods came, and a competition with the Standard, he decided to "bunco" the Standard Oil Company into making it give him a half million dollars for his plant, worth, at most, about \$25,000. The price was too high, and the Standard refused. Mr. Rice did not pretend that his plant was worth a quarter of that amount, but he coolly informed the Standard that it was worth that amount to them to get



him out of the way. He asked a quarter million for his \$25,000 plant, and a quarter million to keep still, promising to put himself at their disposal and help them to beat anybody else they might desire. The proposition was accompanied with the threat that if they did not do it, he would make it cost them many times that amount. The proposition was declined; and since then Mr. Rice has devoted most of his time to fighting the Standard Oil Company by all the means and methods he could devise. There has scarcely been a complaint before the Interstate Commerce Commission or a hearing before a Federal Commission or Legislative Committee for twenty years in which Mr. Rice has not been a prominent factor. If he had spent a quarter as much time in an honest attempt to produce oil as he has to attack the Standard Oil Company, he might have been a rich man. He is not an independent oil producer, nor interested in developing ethical methods of business, but is simply a disappointed man, whose testimony is valueless, even when it is true.

After "properly" introducing Mr. Rice, Miss Tarbell repeats Lloyd's story of the Marietta Railroad rebate scheme. Although the facts are finally told, the story is related in such a way as to give a distinctly false impression of the case. It is not told quite so boldly as Lloyd told it, but the effect is the same.

Stripped of its verbiage, this Rice case, about which so much ado has been made, is simply this. At the time referred to, transportation between Macksburg and Marietta, Ohio, was partly by rail and partly by pipe line. The pipe line belonged to the Standard Oil Company, and the railroad to the Cincinnati & Marietta Railroad Company. The Standard Oil Company finally made arrangements with the railroad company for the entire line. The charge was 35 cents a barrel for the through transportation, 10 cents for the railroad and 25 cents for the pipe line; therefore the Standard Oil Company only had to pay 10 cents for transportation, and outside shippers, of course, had to pay 35 cents, and the railroad company paid to the Standard 25 cents, which was for the shipping through the pipe line belonging to the Standard. This was not a rebate,

but a collection for the pipe line shipment. Mr. Rice shipped by his own pipe line, and therefore did not use the Standard's. Mr. Rice was charged the same price for shipping over the railroad as if he had shipped through the pipe line also. This, of course, was a manifestly unreasonable charge, just as it is now to charge the same rate from Chicago to Hot Springs as from Chicago to Washington, which is 200 miles further on the same road. As soon as the arrangement was reported to headquarters, it was at once vetoed by Mr. Dodd, the Standard's counsel, and all the money so collected (some \$250) was returned. So that Mr. Rice suffered no injury from this unfair arrangement, and moreover, it was not an arrangement either ordered or endorsed by the managers of the Standard—simply an unfair stretch of power by a local agent.

It would be difficult to find in all the history of industrial strife a worse piece of tortured testimony than is this whole Rice case. Even Miss Tarbell admits that Rice took rebates whenever he could get them, and he fussed only because he was not equal to the standard in this particular.

It was generally expected, when Miss Tarbell's tale began, that the world would have an impartial, intelligent presentation of the history of one of the greatest business concerns in the world. It was not expected that the methods of this company would be beyond criticism, but it was expected that the criticism would be fair. But, alas, the first part of Miss Tarbell's tale is little more than a re-hash of Lloyd's "*Wealth Against Commonwealth*", which was the most inflamed, unfair book that was ever published by a respectable house.

Mr. McClure tells us that Miss Tarbell in the coming number will show that the Standard Oil Company has really done nothing to make oil cheap. She will have one paper "on the price of oil". We shall look forward with great interest to this paper. If it is no fairer than most of what has hitherto appeared, it will be worse than worthless, because it will be a contribution to economic misrepresentation, and an addition to the morbid prejudice against the natural tendency of industrial development.

## ENGLAND'S TARIFF EDUCATION

THE ENGLISH people are just being put through a vigorous course on tariff education. This is fortunate for the whole world. There is no other country whose people are more benighted on this subject, and none where an intelligent understanding of it is more important to national welfare. The condition of the English people is not that of the dull uninformed, but rather that of the overconfident misinformed.

Nearly sixty years ago England abandoned the tariff policy. Because she has enjoyed a considerable period of progress under a protective tariff, she has assumed that she gave protection a final scientific quietus, and settled the question for all time and for all countries. This conviction was so unanimous that it became a national dogma. For forty years the economists and statesmen, the farmers and tradesmen, the workingmen and the politicians of all parties accepted free trade as the only rational policy for any nation to pursue in any circumstances. And they all united in sympathizing with, if they did not sneer at, all who did not accept their "enlightened" theory of *laissez-faire*.

Their commercial success gave great weight to their theory, not only in England, but in many other countries, particularly in the United States. For the first three quarters of the nineteenth century the English economists were the classic authorities of the world. Until recently, English text-books were the standard for students in all the colleges and universities in this country. This is still substantially true of leading universities. If they have other text-books the professors, with a few rare exceptions, are still free-traders. The influence of the English free trade dogma has more than once seriously disturbed the business prosperity, and threatened to put back the progress of this country. Indeed, there is a certain type of journal, a large majority of college professors, and the great bulk of the Democratic party that would like to have this country imitate England and abandon protective tariffs altogether. But, to our good fortune, the common sense of



the American people has for the most part prevailed against the "learned" theorizing of these preachers of the English dogma in the United States.

After more than half a century's experience, England is awakening to the fact that this theory of free trade which she has so long believed to be a universal principle, is, after all, only a temporary expedient—a local policy. The evidence of this failure of free trade is seen and felt on every hand. Industrial progress, in all its phases, is seen to be lagging. Relatively to the progress of other countries, England's domestic and foreign industry and commerce is declining. So painfully manifest is this to all classes that the question of abandoning free trade is being made a national political issue upon which the next Parliament will be elected. The leading statesmen of both parties are daily discussing the tariff question before numerous mass meetings throughout England, and the English people are really getting, for the first time, a liberal tariff education.

When the question was discussed in the first half of the nineteenth century, the controversy was between the manufacturers and the landowners. The masses could neither read nor vote, and hence were neither considered nor consulted. But today the masses are "the people", politically as well as numerically, hence the discussion is forced to consider the subject in relation to the welfare of the masses. The Cobden idea, of cheap bread in order to have cheap labor, no one dares to broach in the present controversy.

Some slight idea of the scope and seriousness of this, protective movement now agitating England from one end of the country to the other may be formed by reading the following extracts from Mr. Chamberlain's speech at Leeds, as reported in the *London Times* of Dec. 18, 1903.

In the first place, I lay down the proposition, which I do not think any one has hitherto had the hardihood to dispute. I say that free trade is not an inspired doctrine. It was, and it is, a policy brought by reasonable men before the public for their consideration and adopted at the time because in their opinion it was suitable to the then existing circumstances and

conditions. Nor is there any policy or system or institution in this world, where everything is changing, everything, I hope, progressing, which does not at least require revision in sixty years; and yet there are some of my opponents, some very young men among my opponents, who are so modest (a laugh) that they believe that their ancestors possessed all the wisdom to be and to come.

Now, this particular policy that we are considering, was a policy which experience has shown was adopted at the time on the faith of promises, predictions, and expectations which have not been fulfilled. Mr. Cobden believed, honestly believed, that if once we set the example every other nation on the face of the globe, every great nation, would follow our example, and if they did not follow it they would be ruined. Mr. Cobden believed, and told the people, that England would become the workshop of the world, that all the rest of the world would dig and delve and plough for us, that we should take our raw material and food from them, and that they in return would exchange with our manufacturers. But although we were to take food from them, in Mr. Cobden's opinion that would be no injury to the agricultural interests. He promised that the farmer's profits should not be reduced, and that not a single acre of agriculture land would go out of cultivation.

But all through there was one fatal failure in Mr. Cobden's policy, one fatal error, one mistake in his prediction, which now is evident to all of us. Foreign nations did not, as he supposed they would, follow our example, and although they have not followed our example they have not been ruined. Foreign nations have proceeded upon totally different lines. They have thought it was to their interest to encourage home trade. They have not been content to dig and delve and plough for us; they have wanted to have a more varied life, and they have wanted to develop industries for which they thought themselves as well qualified as we were, and accordingly they have shut us out of their markets. They have built up industries behind the protection which they established even in Mr. Cobden's days, and now, having erected and established and strengthened their home industries, they are beginning to use the power thus acquired to invade our markets. That is a state of things which took time to accomplish. It was not until the early eighties that we began to find out what they were doing, and even after that it was some time before it was evident to all of us.

Lord Playfair in 1890 addressed a meeting of his constituents here. It was the year of the McKinley tariff, and

Lord Playfair stated the reasons which led him to believe at that time that the McKinley tariff would be an utter failure, that it would be injurious to the United States, and that it could not be other than a temporary measure. In giving that address he used these words: "If they" (the American people) "be right in their principles and successful in their practice, the whole commercial policy of the United Kingdom is founded upon a gigantic error and must lead to our ruin as an industrial nation."

What has happened since then? Have the United States been ruined? (Cries of "No.") Has any protected nation been ruined? ("No.") I affirm, without fear of the affirmation being disproved, that there is no one of them, from the largest to the smallest, of which it is not true to say that in everything that makes for the prosperity of the nation they have increased, and increased more rapidly than we have, since they became a protected country. It strikes me that, perhaps in view of the close criticism which no doubt twenty orators will give to my remarks tomorrow, I had better be careful.

While speaking it has suddenly struck me that in one of the cases, with regard to population, France has not advanced so rapidly as we have; but taking these protected nations as a whole—and they comprise every nation in Europe and the United States, the Colonies, and many other countries—taking them as a whole, you will find that statement absolutely correct. And this has happened, mind you, under tariffs of thirty per cent., sixty per cent., and of 100 per cent.

We are losing trade. Why? Is it, as our opponents say, because of the inefficiency of the British workman? (Cries of "No.") I know a good deal more of the British workman than some of those who have never been inside a factory. I think I know more of him than some of the walking delegates who pretend that they can not only do their proper work, and take their orders from their constituents, but that they can dictate to the workmen of this country their policy. They will find that they are mistaken; and I know that the workingman of this country is not, as a whole, inefficient or incapable of meeting any competition anywhere else in the world. What is the proof of it? He goes to America, and he makes one of the best of workmen. He goes abroad in some cases to teach foreign workmen how to do their business. He does not do badly there. Is it the fault of the manufacturers? Are our leaders of industry so ignorant, so unintelligent, so stupid, that they can be taught their business by lawyers and politicians?

Charlottenburg schools are very good, but they can not



make our trading area larger than it is, and that is smaller than the trading area of the great nations of the world. Here is the United States, here is Russia, here is Germany, here is France, here is Austria. They have their own trade, and they have an open market in the best and most profitable trade in the world—that is, our trade. And what is left to us? We can not touch any one of their markets. They take good care of that, and as for our own market, we are almost beginning to hold it at their mercy, because under existing circumstances, under the system of “dumping” and bounties and advantages, official and otherwise, that are given to these foreign trades, they can beat us in ordinary business, in business conducted upon normal principles.

The fact is this—that during the last thirty years, and, on the whole, with increasing rapidity, our trade with the protected countries, our trade in manufactures with the protected countries, has been decreasing, while at the same time their exports of manufactures to us, to the workshop of the world, have been increasing. At the present moment in some of our principal trades, in woolen, for instance, actually the foreign protected States, who ought by this time to have been ruined, are sending more woolen manufactures than we are sending to them. In all this there is only one satisfactory feature. That is, that our colonial trade has continually increased. When I say colonial trade, you will understand I mean the trade with our British possessions.

But I want to warn you. How are we to keep this trade with the colonies, how are we to increase it, as the foreign trade is continually increasing? It is not enough that colonial trade should remain as it is; it must grow greater and larger. We are losing it. There are signs of danger there also. With all the good-will that our colonies have for us, with every desire to buy from us rather than from the foreigner, there also, more even than here, the “dumping” process is going on. What is the “dumping” process? It is selling below cost price in order to get trade and to ruin your opponent; and when trade here has been ruined, when the market of Australia, of Canada, of South Africa, has been secured, as it is being secured, by foreign countries, then, indeed, it will be very difficult for us to recover what we have lost.

The true test of prosperity in this country, in my belief, is the comparative number of people who find full employment at remunerative rates. That is a much better test. We know what the poet said about the disappearance of the yeomanry, “the country’s pride”. I could conceive, I could imagine in a

nightmare, that this country might be the home of millionaires seeking their pleasure here, of them and of their dependents upon their country; but that would not be my country. It would not be a country of which any of you would have reason to be proud. No, employment is the test. Employment is falling off, falling off according to official returns. I think there is a much greater falling off than, under the circumstances, any official return can represent. It is going to be worse, in my judgment. Trade is not good now; it will be worse in a few months or a few years.

Thus we shall find before long that the people out of employment will want better prescriptions than their present physicians give to them. They will not accept the soothing syrup which is offered to them by Lord Rosebery. Men out of employment and anxious to work will not take it kindly that they should be recommended by Mr. Haldane to consider the unparalleled prosperity of the country, and if that does not satisfy them to go to school again to get technical education. I think it is a much more serious matter than these gentlemen have any idea of. I can give him trades by the score that have suffered, that have ceased to be great trades. I can give him mills by the hundred that have been closed or diverted to different purposes. I wonder if Mr. Asquith were walking down the street and he heard a man crying for help and saw another standing over him with a bludgeon—I wonder what he would do? I gather that he would call to him in a friendly tone, and would say, "Wait a bit; you are not killed yet; when you are I am going for a policeman." Ladies and gentlemen, we can not wait. We have to wake up. No, if I am to have my throat cut, I would rather have it cut fighting than have it cut while asleep.

I think we have, after all, to abate something of our conceit; and when we find the cleverest people in the world adopt a policy which differs from our own and profit under it, I think we might be humble enough to take a leaf from their experience. They make tariffs to shut us out; let us make a tariff, if that be possible—and I think it is—a scientific tariff. Let us make a tariff, if that be possible—and I think it is—which shall not add by one farthing to the burden of any taxpayer, but which by the transference of taxation from one shoulder to another, or from the shoulders to the back, may not only produce the same amount of revenue which will always be necessary for our home expenditure, but may incidentally do something to develop and extend our trade.

We are told that we can not make a scientific tariff, that we



can not distinguish between the raw material and manufactures, that we can not be fair all round, that if, for instance, we prevent the dumping of iron below cost we shall ruin the tin-plate trade, that if we stop the importation of cheap foreign labor we shall destroy the boot and shoe trade, that if we are to stop the importation of woolen yarns there will be an end of the clothing industry. That is the kind of argument. To me it seems impossible to any one who is not a pessimist in regard to his own country. Why should we suppose that our scientific economists, that our manufacturers, can not do what every other country has been able to do, and every colony has been able to do, without finding their way into these exaggerated difficulties? Now we are going to try to do it.

We are going to form, we have gone a long way in the direction of forming, a commission—not a political commission, but a non-political commission of experts—to consider the conditions of our trade and the remedies which are to be found for it. This commission will comprise leading representatives of every principal industry and of every group of industries, representative of the trade of India and the Crown Colonies and the great self-governing Colonies. It will invite before it witnesses from every trade, and it will endeavor, after hearing all that can be said, not merely in regard to the special interests of any particular trade, but also in regard to the interests of all the other trades which may be in any sense related to it—it is going after that to frame a model tariff. You know the principle I laid down at Glasgow was that we should have a tariff averaging ten per cent. on manufactures, and that that tariff should be arranged so as to put the highest rate of duty on the imports which have most labor in them as compared with partly manufactured goods the importation of which does not deprive us of so much employment.

Now, whenever the country is ready to give us the mandate for which we ask, and a government is in power which is prepared to accept our principles, we will have ready all the information, or, at all events, a great part of the information, that it will desire, and it will have before it, at all events, a tariff which has been presented to the country, and upon which the people have had every opportunity of expressing their opinion.

Now, there is another objection besides the sacrifice. Again and again, in spite of proof that is before their eyes, my opponents say there is no evidence of a demand from the colonies. I think the London *Standard* says something of that sort this morning. It is really a monstrous misrepresentation. Do they



really believe in their hearts that I have invented this thing? Have they forgotten all that has passed? Have they forgotten the Ottawa Conference, the second conference in London, the third conference in London? Take the last alone. A resolution was passed unanimously, every Premier of every self-governing colony was present, urging the British government to take into consideration the question of mutual preference, and if possible to give a preference to the colonies in return for a preference given by them upon every article of our production upon which they already put or might hereafter put a duty. Well, what more proof do they want than that? They want—it is so childish that I can not understand how they can put such a matter forward—they want me to produce not merely this indication of the desire of the colonies to negotiate with us, but a cut-and-dried result of the negotiations. Let them send me as Ambassador to the colonies with full powers, and I am perfectly willing to risk my reputation on my being able, not merely to satisfy the colonies that we have something to give them which is worth their acceptance, but also to secure for the colonies equal measure in return. Meanwhile, here is something. I received a letter a day or two ago from Mr. Fielding, the Finance Minister of the Dominion of Canada, a gentleman whom many of us met when he was over with the Prime Minister in 1902, and for whom, I am sure, we all felt the greatest respect. He is one of the new race of colonial statesmen who will be second to none in the councils of the empire.

Now, there is one cause of want of employment which, I think, has not met with the attention it deserves. You know from the newspapers that during the last ten or twenty years, and especially for the last few years, more and more of English firms have gone abroad to give employment to foreign workmen. Now, why is that? It is not the fault of the British employer. He finds he can do no trade in this country, and it is better for the country, if that is the case, that he should make some profit abroad rather than allow both profit and labor to go. Why can not he work in this country? It is not because of the deficiency of the workingman. It is not because he is drunken or wants intelligence, or because he is ignorant. It is because the tariffs of foreign countries are so high that he can not send goods made in this country across the tariff wall. Well, I want to alter that. The fault is not with the laborer, not with the employer; it is with the system. I want to see the reverse process going on. If you agree to take a leaf from our opponents' book you will say, "If you will not pull down

your walls which protect your country against any imports of our goods, we will erect a wall, a modest wall it may be in comparison with yours, but still it will be high enough to make you pay to get over it, and if you can not get over it, we will keep our trade for ourselves."

We have got to pull down the tariff of foreign countries, or, if we can not do that, we have got to meet it with a British tariff, and the effect of the British tariff in this case would be that the powers of which I am complaining would be reversed, and instead of our manufacturers taking their work away, foreign manufacturers would bring their work here. They would bring their capital and their works. They would do what we are doing; they would employ the workmen on the spot. I know something of business and something of business men both abroad and at home. I had a few days ago a letter from an Englishman who has large transactions in Switzerland. He was talking with one of the largest manufacturers in the way of business, who told him that two-thirds of his trade was done in England; and my friend asked him, "What are you going to do if Mr. Chamberlain's policy is carried?" "Well," he said—the foreigner said—"we have been talking it over. We know what we are going to do. We are going, in the first place, to our government, and we are going to say, 'We can't afford to lose his trade, and we hope that you will consent, in return for the maintenance of free trade in England, to give them free trade in Switzerland.'" Well, that would be a fair proposal, but he went on to say: "If our government will not accept that, if they will not be moved by the pressure we put upon them, then we have made arrangements and we will immediately carry our works to England. If England has a tariff we will avoid the tariff by coming inside the tariff wall."

What about the foreign workmen coming over here? Well, they do come over. I am not certain that there might not be cases in which the immigration of foreign workmen might not be for us, as it has been in the past, a great advantage. Foreign workmen of a certain stamp can and might give us information that we should be glad to possess; but there has been great complaint of late of alien immigration. There is a class of immigrants that we do not desire. We would prefer their absence to their company. That is a question that I have been discussing for some time. I have claimed for you that it was the duty of the government of this country to try and regulate the immigration. What were you told? You were told then what you are told now about different forms of competition, such as dumping; you were told that it was insignificant im-

migration, that it only concerns a particular district, that it was a blessing in disguise. That warning was not taken, and now what do you see? One district in London is congested. The East-end of London is congested with this class of immigrant, and they are spreading all over the country. I hear of them in South Wales. I am told there are some in Leeds. I heard of them in the south of Scotland. Well, I think that the government agrees with me in believing that, at all events, now the time has come to deal with this growing evil, and, therefore, do not let my friends be afraid. We are not going to allow the foreign workman, unless he be, as I have said, of a very desirable description, to take the bread out of the mouth of the British workman. But please to see that the two things hang together. At the present moment, as far as I know, there is not a single trade-union leader here in Leeds, or in London, or all over the country, who does not oppose alien immigration. Sometimes he goes, in my opinion, too far, but, at all events, he is opposed to the principle of unrestricted alien immigration. Well, but are you going to be so unwise, so unreasonable, as to keep the alien out and let the goods that he makes come in? How much better are you going to be for that? And yet it is true that a great number of the same people, some of those trade-union leaders—not all, by any means, but still a great number of them—are going about denouncing me because I not only am opposed to sweating in this country, but am also opposed to letting in any sweated goods.



*Eastern question*

*comb. facts.*

## ASIA IN TRANSITION

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### CONCLUDING ARTICLE.

PERHAPS the most encouraging feature of the situation in the Far East to those who would take an optimistic view of the political and commercial future of Asia is the present-day disposition of Chinese statesmen to lean more to the counsels of the inspirators of this pact than has been their custom in the past. The importance of this agreement, and of the responsibilities it carries with it, is beyond dispute. But the magnitude of the interests it safeguards is equally beyond dispute. Nowhere in the world is there to be found at the present time a more inexhaustible field for all those forms of peaceful activity in the lines of great commercial and industrial endeavor than in China, and it will soon be shown that China herself will not be backward in responding to these new and altered conditions. That this is so is a point upon which students of Asiatic politics and friends of China agree with unanimity.

The stiffening which England and Japan have given to the Chinese political fabric has had the immediate effect, and will continue to have the effect, of greatly accelerating Chinese energy. Moreover, the fact that China's own interests have not been neglected will go a long way in bringing about the *rapprochement* between China and Western influences which provides the most potent safeguard for the future. The present period of transition marks a turning point in China's fortunes. If the lessons taught by the disastrous results of the Boxer movement have borne fruit, if she is counseled by the best and most progressive of her officials and makes an honest attempt to put her house in order, China will work out her own salvation. Her weakness has been, and will continue to be, a tremendous temptation to those powers who imagine

that a short cut can be made at the point of a sword to a monopoly of her potential riches, and no amount of external support could in the long run protect her against the consequences of her own weakness. But if it is shown, as it undoubtedly will be, that she possesses within herself forces capable of restoring her vitality, it is time that they should be allowed to exert themselves effectually. From this point of view the Anglo-Japanese jointure of interests, which can not fail to add immeasurably to the weight of British and Japanese advice in Peking, is calculated to have most beneficial effects upon the future of China.

For several years it has been the opinion in well-informed quarters,—and all surface conditions went to show that the surmise was correct,—that Russian influence has been predominant in Peking and has readily bent Chinese policy in support of Slavonic interests to the exclusion of all others. The death of Li Hung-chang, who was strongly Russophile, in a great measure lessened Russian influence, and it need not cause surprise if it yet more markedly wanes when called upon to compete with conjoined English and Japanese interests acting in harmony and governed by mutual considerations. In addition to its historical interest, there is deep significance in the effect which it will have in causing a change of sentiment among Chinese statesmen,—which has already manifested itself,—with the reflex action which this change of sentiment will have upon the Chinese race as a whole, whose views are practically formulated and governed by these higher classes.

One of the most discouraging features of Chinese diplomacy and statecraft with which the civilized powers of the world have had difficulty in contending in the past is its absolute lack of definitiveness and its inclination to lean toward the strongest side, whichever it may be, for the time being. So long as China herself gained by this seemingly cautious attitude, and so long as the interests of the respective alien nations having relations with her were not unjustly jeopardized, there was nothing wrong in this course either in theory or in practise. But, unfortunately, subsequent events served to show that

under certain conditions, and within certain limitations, this policy might in due time be aggravated into a serious menace. The case of Russia is that at point. The fact is notorious that Russian policy is arbitrarily nationalistic in essence and effect,—the further increase of Slavonic influence in Chinese affairs upraised therefore not only the moral consideration of right or wrong in taking advantage of China's weakness to further selfish ends, but the vastly more important question of the inimical effects which must ensue to all nations whose respective interests must perforce be jeopardized by this nationalistic policy of a staunch commercial rival. This evidently has been the chief concern of other nations than Russia who have had a finger in the Chinese pie; it is both idle and fatuous to affect to ignore the real reasons which have governed this firm opposition to Slavonic policies in China, as has been the practice of Russian statesmen for some time past in their taunts that the effort is being made by disgruntled rivals to use Russia as a scapegoat. If Russia's aims were not self-centred, and were governed by a give as well as take policy, she would find no opposition from any source to anything which would best subserve her interests and contribute legitimately to her enterprises.

If Russia herself recognizes the potency of prudential considerations in looking after number one, it renders rather lame her opposition to her rivals' governing their respective courses by similar considerations of prudence. If the purposes of England and Japan were directed by the provisions of their mutual pact to arrogate to themselves certain favorable discriminations to the injury of the interests of other nations, their course would be open to just criticism, and could not hope for successful fruition in face of the attitude which would be taken by collective civilization to discourage such a step. But it is just here that the most hopeful signs are manifested which point to a betterment of Asiatic political and economic conditions, for it is such an unjust and untoward condition of affairs which the Anglo-Japanese jointure of interests is bent on thwarting. There is no intricate or complex, subtle and hidden motives governing their actions in trying to bring



about more liberal and favorable conditions for the equal enjoyment of all nations, and there need be, or at least should not be, no reading between the lines to impute ulterior and selfish motives. In effect, England and Japan, by taking upon themselves the burden of shouldering the Eastern "old man of the sea", merely seek to make China a grand commercial free-for-all. And if the repeated assertions of Russian statesmen for some time, that Russia is fully in accord with the attainment of this eminently desirable result, are real and concrete things rather than mere hyperbolical vagaries, there is nothing, or at least should be nothing, in the action which has been taken by England and Japan which need cause them alarm, or which merits other than their cordial approbation and co-operation.

Whether Russian statesmen are willing or not to accept complacently in the future the continuance of this eminently equitable and safe method of settling the constant recurrence of complicated affairs which are bound to arise from time to time in the Far East, there can be no doubt that the fact of England and Japan working hand-in-hand for the attainment of identical results will have the desirable effect of greatly clearing the political sky,—and even though this stumbling-block to Slavonic plans will continue right along to provoke unmeasured, though well-masked, wrath in Russia, it marks the inaugural of more favorable conditions in China and along the entire eastern coastline of Asia, at which all nations should rejoice. Enough has been said, I think, to show the inimical effects of a further Russianization of Asia, and the continued pursuance by these two powerful nations of the clear and definite policy which they have outlined can only tend in the long run to promote a satisfactory understanding, and, furthermore, is the soundest guarantee for the future.

In the light of experience, it is now possible to perceive that what success Russian expansive policies have attained hitherto have been gained simply by "bluff", and by lack of any real and determinedly persisted-in opposition. Nothing is more calculated to encourage the spirit of adventurous activity which sometimes characterizes Russian diplomacy, and to tempt it

into enterprises productive of unlooked-for complications, than the vacillation and want of settled purpose which have of late years marked England's policy in the Far East. The sanction of Japan given to her own inclinations evolves a policy, however, which has placed in England's hands the powerful instrument, which, properly directed, will remove all possibility of any misconception that her determination to ensure the integrity and territorial entity of Asiatic countries is a thing of straw. There is nothing in the principles advocated by this agreement to which Russia or any other power can justly take exception,—furthermore, by giving precision to the conservative aims of British and Japanese policy, and by combining and enhancing the influence of these two powers at Peking, all these conditions make for the preservation of peace in the Far East and all over the world.

What new policies, if such are contemplated, Russia will inaugurate to counteract this barrier-wall upraised to her expansive ambitions,—what she purposes to do, or will do, is something concerning which it is impossible to speak with absolute assurance. Yet in hazarding the statement, which has just been made, that the continued acting in accord of British and Japanese interests in the East seems to herald a continued peace for some time to come, in Eastern Asia at least, there are a number of important considerations to support this contention. Chief among these is the present condition of Russian finances. While Russia has an army on paper which might be able to cope with more than advantage, numerically at least, against any that either England or Japan, or both, could put forward,—all other things being equal,—yet the drain upon her resources in furthering her Asiatic campaign to its present state of fructification has been so great as to warrant the belief that at the present time Russia could not withstand the financial strain of a great war. For years it has been the proud boast of Russian statesmen that the Russian flag must never be hauled down where once it has been hoisted. Still, Russia is not the first nation which has met the logic of superior numbers with a graceful bow, and conceded to the right of might.

The argument which has been put forth from time to

time that Russia is assured of assistance from France loses something of its power when one takes into consideration the thrifty and disingenuous nature of the Gallic temperament, which, doubtless, at the crucial time will not feel disposed to hold the candle in a game which does not promise corresponding rewards to accrue to Gallic interests. Russian interests and Russian policies doubtless have the sympathies of the French people, but sympathy in the arbitrament of conflicting interests in Asia is of little or no practical value unless it takes an active form, and this is a step which France will hesitate to take, however blinded by her intense Anglophobism. Furthermore, there is really no reason why France, let alone Germany, Austria, and Italy, should give assistance to Russia, even morally, in the endeavor of the government of that country to gain for itself and for its people special commercial advantages and privileges, not only at the expense of the Chinese, but at the expense of all other civilized peoples. And such consideration of the personal equation, in the tendency of each nation to support that which will best promote its own individual interests, ought still further, and doubtless will, serve to strengthen the position of England and Japan in the Asiatic world, and also have a marked effect in discouraging Russian activities in China and throughout Eastern Asia.

Those who have closely followed events in the Far East during the last few years will readily perceive that this combination of the powerful forces of England and Japan, which, it has been argued by some, was in itself a menace to peaceful conditions, is the very thing that will guarantee a permanent and lasting peace. The openly advocated principles governing combined English and Japanese interests is not marked by policies which tend to menace or minimize the legitimate interests of other nations. Naturally it aims a telling blow at Russian interests, but though the contest between the Briton and Slav for dominance in Central Asia is something more filled with disquiet for the future, in a measure it is apart and independent from this general Asiatic problem of the whole. Though Russia may growl and protest from time to time, and



make a show of opposition, she recognizes the futility of making this opposition belligerently active.

It must be remembered that I am speaking now merely of conditions in Eastern Asia, for, as I have said, the struggle between Russia and Britain for control of Central Asia is a question apart, and one which has narrowed down more or less to a merely personal issue between these two nations. But speaking of the genral Asiatic question, the newly inaugurated condition of affairs inspires much hope for the future. Russia will not persist in a determinedly belligerent opposition in face of the moral dissuasion of collective civilization supporting British and Japanese activity. Manchuria, or in fact the whole of China, is not worth to Russia the blood and money that war would cost.

In the first place, in the uncompleted condition of the Trans-Siberian railway, she would be at a marked disadvantage, both in numbers and in the necessary equipment, to the allied forces of England and Japan which could be easily transferred to the seat of operations in Eastern Asia. Japan has a superbly equipped army of 500,000 men, ready for war down to the last button on gaiter, thus constituting a force which, swelled by the contingents which England could bring on the scene, would exceed that which Russia could transfer so as to be utilized to the seat of operations in Eastern Asia. As England and Japan through their navies would have no difficulty in controlling the high seas, there would be no serious difficulty in keeping open the ways of communication and maintaining this army in Korea and Manchuria. In the past the chief source of Japan's military weakness has been want of money, but this is something which can be made good through the financial resources of the British Empire.

No one understands these potent considerations better than Russia herself, and though she may, as is not improbable, fructify her expansive ambitions elsewhere in Asia, where she need count only on the individual opposition of England, her grasp on Eastern Asia has been greatly weakened of late, and the beneficial effects of this altered condition of affairs will not be tardy in manifesting themselves. It will take some time

to fully undermine the determined grasp of Russia on the situation so that she will not hang like a menacing sword of Damocles, and it will also take some time for the opinion of the civilized world to appreciate the results which are being obtained by England and Japan in all its bearings and to pass settled judgments upon it. But it is this phase which should most heartily commend it to the appreciation of the world at large,—that it plainly and unmistakably spells peace, at least in China and Eastern Asia.

The moral as well as the physical effect which all this will have in altering for the better social and economic conditions in the East is immediately patent. The acceptance which the Anglo-Japanese combination of interests, and its workings during the short time it has been in effect, has won, not only in England and Japan, but among nearly all the great powers with interests in China, will gradually dispel jealousies and misconceptions which have hitherto obstructed legitimate progress in the Far East. Many well-wishers of China have in the past regarded Japan as a revolutionary nation, with inscrutable and unavowable designs, but now that she has linked her policy with the conservative aims of England these alarms will fade away. Japan comes nearer to understanding the Chinese character and the conditions of life in China than any Western nation can expect to do. The two powers which are thus in closest touch, from different sides, with the Asiatic problem are now united in their objects and their action, and they command an unquestioned predominance of material force in the Far East. The reforming elements in China, which have been disheartened in the past by the apparent hesitation of British diplomacy, will be henceforth reassured, and signs of practical advance have already been manifested by this acceleration given to her energies and the stimulus to undertake the task of self-regeneration which has been provided by the removal of the menace which has threatened her, and which those familiar with Chinese social and economic conditions realize have been the most serious stumbling-blocks to healthy progress.

The interests of the United States in this question of the political and commercial future of Asia are much less remote

than a cursory survey of the facts in the case would imply. We may not, it is true, have any direct concern in Eastern political strife, but we have, nevertheless, in the Far East interests of vast importance, which are so bound up in the intricate meshes of the political net that it is not possible for us to remain quiescent when questions of such stupendousness are being settled. The force of circumstances has led us into a position,—in so far as China is concerned,—where it would be a near-sighted and dangerous attitude to assume that traditional policy, which was only *germane* to the conditions prevailing at the time of its adoption, forbids our taking a hand in the game in the stakes of which we are heavily interested. At no time, more than at the present, therefore, should it be obviously our wisest policy to realize clearly where our own interest lies, to see what ventures should be supported, and which left to themselves, and to back up the policy looking to the preservation of China's integrity and the maintenance of the open door (as advocated by the Anglo-Japanese *entente*) by at least a strong moral sentiment which could not fail to have a marked effect upon the minds of collective civilization. That Russian interest has always been friendly to the United States does not signify. Her friendly interest is but natural, as in no time have our respective policies conflicted. But if we are to secure to ourselves the fruits of vigorous commercial activity in the Far East, it is not reasonable to suppose there will be a discrimination of Russian policy in our favor.

The steady descent of the Muscovite toward the Persian Gulf and India on the one side, and toward Korea and China on the other, is a distinct menace to the interests of the world, and all the assurances and protestations of Russian diplomatists that the interests of that country in Eastern Asia are altruistic, are as misleading and futile as they are insincere and immoral. Our government, by the anxiety which underlies its asking for and securing the consent of the powers to the equitable policy of maintaining China's political and commercial entity, at the time when terms of settlement were being considered after the recent troubles in that country, shows that we share in this view. Above all else it is vitally



necessary that now, when important events are in process of transition, we should not be led into an attitude of *laissez-faire* because the surface of conditions are less unruffled than but a short time ago. When the international situation is so acutely poised, an unmistakable, even though tacitly expressed agreement with England and Japan,—whose interests are so identical with our own,—will greatly simplify the task of keeping open the door of trade and safeguarding the valuable commercial sphere of influence which we have already gained in China. Our commercial interests in Asia are large and constantly increasing,—to ignore this consideration would be inviting an economic menace and outraging every article in the code of national common-sense.

It is a near-sighted and dangerous attitude to assume that we are not bound to help England pick her own chestnuts out of the fire,—we must, perforce, by the unalterable logic of circumstances do this if we wish to save our own supply. It must be recognized in considering the struggle between conflicting Russian and English interests for Asiatic supremacy that while Great Britain would be the first, and perhaps the nation most seriously to suffer from the further growth of Russian dominance, there is always the added menace of Russia using such power to further other aggressions and in the end arrogate to herself such arbitrary and prohibitive rights in the East as to affect vitally the interests of the United States, and, in fact, all nations to whom trade relations with Asiatic countries, and their commercial development, are of importance. We could never hope for free trade, or even for commerce under the favored nation clause, in those portions of China dominated by Russia or other European powers, all of whom, with the exception of Great Britain, are governed by self-centred and nationalistic policies.

Common interests and sentiment should make all Americans give hearty and unstinted support to the policy adopted, and being pursued, by England and Japan in Asia, which is bound in the long run to exercise such a favorable and enduring effect. Sentiment is not lacking in our relations with both of these countries, and our interests in the Far East are practi-

cally analogous. To do nothing and to let matters drift is to jeopard our own important interests,—to act independently by merely infusing ourselves into the situation at the recurring moments when some unforeseen international complication brings it to the white-heat point, would not be prudent in existing circumstances. It would not be advisable,—nor have I sought to give that impression,—for us to take an active political interest in China, unless pressed by necessity. But to withhold our moral, or, if needs be, even active support to the altruistic policies that England and Japan are pursuing in Eastern Asia for the betterment of economic and political conditions in that part of the world would be, as I have already said, a step foreign to the code of national shrewdness and common sense. Destiny has already forced us into a position which we did not dream of assuming a few years ago,—the arising in the future of unlooked-for contingencies will impose new responsibilities and the demands for ways and means to govern these new and unexpected conditions. We have as much right in China, in the acquiring of new markets and new fields for commercial enterprise, as any other nation, and we should not neglect to seize any advantage, within the bounds of morality and justice, to safeguard or promote this end.

Whatever our attitude is to be, it ought to be immediately and unmistakably defined. The moral support of the United States to the work of legitimate regeneration and economic advancement that England and Japan are now carrying on in China, will add immeasurably to the strength of their position, and will lend in support of the community of interests in that country a potential element that will still further tend to minimize the danger from the Slavonic, or any other, menace in Eastern Asia, and have an immediate and wholesome effect upon present-day and future conditions in the Far East.

*International*

## LATIN RACE IN ARBITRATION MOVEMENT

HAYNE DAVIS /

AT ALL TIMES there are several political problems, one of which is paramount and all the others secondary. The execution of the Anglo-French Arbitration Treaty raises the question of the relation of the Arbitration movement to the other questions of the day, and the part of the various races in this movement.

For centuries the relation of the individual to the state was the paramount political problem. Its solution brought humanity to another problem, the relation of state to state. This was the problem of the nineteenth century, and was solved in the same way in various parts of the world, that is, by the organization of contiguous states into a federal government like ours, the subsidiary states remaining sovereign in their local affairs and becoming a single political entity for affairs common to all. The twentieth century dawns upon many governments organized in this federal form, some of which are republics, some compounds of democracy and monarchy, as England, Germany, and Italy. There are also simple democracies, as France, and absolute monarchies, as Russia, and the paramount political problem of this century is the right relation between all these nations. They find themselves brought face to face, in speaking distance really, by the discoveries made in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and yet they are free to resort to war in any controversy that may arise.

The first movement away from this anarchistic condition was the submission of particular controversies to arbitration instead of war, without any agreement that controversies as they arise should be arbitrated. During the nineteenth century one hundred and thirty-six international disputes were arbitrated in this way, England being a party to the largest number and the United States coming next.

But so long as the reference of controversies to arbitra-



tion depends on the voluntary consent of all nations concerned after the controversy arises, the nations remain anarchists toward one another, for this condition involves a claim by each nation that it has a right to do as it pleases in matters that concern others as well as itself.

The second step away from international anarchy is the execution of treaties that bind the signatory powers to submit future controversies to arbitration. Agitation in favor of such treaties was a part of the peace movement of the past century, and from its birth this government has been an advocate of international arbitration; but a citizen of France was advocating arbitration, and a king of France was contemplating a union of nations, two hundred years before the formation of the United States, and it may be safely claimed for France that she has led in the movement for peace in so far as the movement can be advanced by the action of peace societies. Nevertheless, the "Anglo-Saxon" race would have been first to bring forth the fruits of this agitation if the senate of the United States had not rejected the general arbitration treaty negotiated by Sir Julian Pauncefote and Secretary Olney in 1897. Having lost this opportunity to lead, the "Anglo-Saxons" have been compelled to stand by and witness the execution of a number of arbitration treaties between nations of the Latin race. Argentina is foremost in this movement, having entered into such treaties with three other nations, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Chile. These treaties are as perfect as any arbitration treaty so far drawn, indeed it may be fairly claimed that they are the best so far evolved. A number of arbitration treaties are in process of negotiation between other South-American nations, for instance, the treaty for compulsory arbitration of pecuniary claims, approved by the representatives of the American nations at the conference held at the City of Mexico in 1901; also the treaty for compulsory arbitration of all questions which emanated from that conference, but which was approved by the representatives of only eight nations, namely, Argentina, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Salvador, Paraguay, Perú, and Uruguay.

In addition to these projects for arbitration, in which the

South-Americans are ready to go farther than we, this conference gave rise incidentally to a very significant movement toward international peace. Spain availed herself of this opportunity to negotiate general arbitration treaties with nearly a dozen South-American nations, which are now running the gauntlet of national legislatures.

The Pan-American conference thus became intercontinental in its bearing on the arbitration movement, but only in the Latin area of the world. It is true, neither Spain nor any of the South-American nations are first-class powers, but the act of binding themselves to a righteous settlement of international disputes is none the less noble on that account, even if less valuable to the world than a corresponding act by a great power capable of working greater havoc by a breach of the peace between nations; and some day the Latin race will receive the honor due for being the first to adopt the principles of compulsory arbitration, first to extend the principle from continent to continent by the execution of such a treaty between a nation in Europe and a nation in America, and for being a party to the first general arbitration treaty between two great powers. It is authoritatively announced that France is negotiating arbitration treaties with Italy, Holland, Norway and Sweden, and Denmark.

The centers of the arbitration movement are therefore in the Latin area—in Argentina, in so far as it is limited to South America; in France, in so far as it is limited to Europe; in Spain, in so far as it is intercontinental.

The fact that the Latin race is leading in this greatest of the twentieth century movements is not to be disputed, but the significance of the fact may easily be overlooked, especially by "Anglo-Saxons" who cling to the idea that the Latin people are incapable of government. Unless the Latin people are capable of government, there can never be good government in international affairs, for in such affairs the Latin nations must have a part proportionate to their interest, which is not small, seeing that they possess a considerable part of the world and furnish a substantial part of its population. The present position of these nations in the arbitration movement proves that

they are more capable of solving the problems of government than Anglo-Saxons ordinarily believe and brightens the prospects for international peace. It brightens also the prospect of good government locally in the Latin area, in the "Anglo-Saxon" area, in the Slav area, in every area of the world, because local good government will be easier to provide everywhere when nations are organized for peace instead of for war.

Under present conditions, the thought and resources of nations, which are sorely needed for wise conduct of home affairs, are consumed by international relations and problems. The substitution of judicial proceedings for war in international questions would not only put an end to the greatest drain on national resources, but would eliminate one of the most fruitful causes of bad government.

It is not easy to say what constitutes good government. Fixing the eye for a long time on the evils that exist in our government tends to destroy our faith in its people to govern well. It is common to hear it said that the Democrats are incapable of providing good government in New York city, and that the Republicans are incapable of providing good government in Philadelphia. All politicians proclaim, and some men really believe, that the political party of which they are not members is incapable of governing this nation well. The lynchings that occur, more frequently in certain parts of the country, but in all parts upon the commission of certain crimes that greatly move the people, cause some observers to doubt the capacity of the people to furnish good government. These things certainly raise a question as to what degree of lawlessness, conflict, and corruption can exist in a government worthy to be called good; but however bad the government of New York may be, it would be worse if the affairs of the city were in the hands of Philadelphians, or of the people of any other part of the world. The best government possible, and the early application of the best remedies for existing evils, depend upon the government of every city, state, and nation by its own people. Granted that "Anglo-Saxons" are more capable of government than the Latins, still the Latin people can



govern the Latin area better than "Anglo-Saxons" can. However bad the existing government may be in various parts of the world, it will be better and will sooner reach the point of being good if the various parts of the world are governed by their own people.

The universal adoption of arbitration in the place of war for the trial of international questions would not only substitute government for anarchy in international affairs, but would greatly improve the government of every nation. Therefore it does not become "Anglo-Saxons" to hold back in the arbitration movement, and say of the Latin nations that are going forward in it that they are decadent and unfit for the solution of the problems of government. On the contrary, the present condition of international affairs constitutes a distinct call to the "Anglo-Saxon" race to join in and wisely direct the arbitration movement to its proper end.

Though the Latin race is in the lead so far, the great work of the arbitration movement is yet to be done, and the Saxon has an opportunity to justify his claim of genius for government by wisely doing it. None of the arbitration treaties so far evolved is perfect enough to become a model, and therefore the "Anglo-Saxons" should quickly bring out such a treaty. To recognize the capacity of other races for government, to honor them for their part in the solution of the world's political problem, but at the same time to lend ourselves to its final proper solution is worthier of the "Anglo-Saxons" than to harp on the inferiority of the Latin races in matters of government, even if they are not so capable of self-government as some other races.

One of the principal defects in the Anglo-French treaty is that it prevents the Hague Court from acquiring jurisdiction in any controversy, by providing that the contracting parties "before addressing themselves to the Hague Court shall sign a special arbitration bond, setting forth clearly the subject under dispute, the extent of the powers of the arbitrators, and the details to be observed as regards the constitution of the arbitral tribunal and the procedure." Either nation can keep any question out of the Court by not executing a special bond. Besides,

this reserves to the litigants the determination of matters that properly belongs to the Court, and will work against good government and hinder the progress and usefulness of arbitration; therefore "Anglo-Saxons" should bring out a treaty that will leave these matters to the Hague Court, or mark out a few general principles of procedure and leave the Court to amplify and develop its practise so as to meet best the ends for which it has come into existence.

A general arbitration treaty binding the parties to submit some or all controversies to the Hague Court, without any provision as to procedure, would give the Hague Court jurisdiction, the right-to-say, in the questions to be arbitrated; and this would entitle the Court to prescribe rules of procedure. This would be an absolute adoption of the arbitration idea. It might be better to provide that a nation can state its complaint to the other, and be entitled to a judgment of the Court, unless an answer or counter complaint is delivered to it in an agreed time. When complaint and answer are exchanged between parties, this would raise a question for the Court to decide.

A general arbitration treaty without provision as to procedure, or with a provision that one nation can set the Court in motion without the consent of the other, would give the Hague Court authority, and therefore fix it among the established institutions of the world. The execution of such a treaty would really give life to this Court of the nations, and therefore begin its permanent work for the peace of the world.

The opportunity is open to all of giving the Hague Court jurisdiction and of bringing out the model arbitration treaty. Which race will win this honor?

The credit of calling the Hague conference, which gave birth to this Court of the Nations, belongs to the Slav. The honor of carrying the work on by the execution of general arbitration treaties belongs to the Latin people, and to that branch of the Latin people not invited to the conference.

Has not the hour struck for the "Anglo-Saxons" to take the matter up, and make its area of the world the center for universal extension of the arbitration principle?

## AUDACITY

STANHOPE SAMS /

AUDACITY is not an American trait. Our enemies have frequently called us arrogant, brazen, and impudent; but we "Anglo-Saxons" have become careless alike to the praise and abuse of all outlanders. They have always abused us, and it is not worth while paying any attention to their lower standards of civilization and morals. They called us arrogant and impudent when we hastened to war with the tottering power of Spain, before we had duly considered whether war could be averted by honorable means, and our just purposes still be attained. They called us arrogant and impudent when we availed ourselves of the help of Aguinaldo and his Filipino army to oust Spain, and then turned our guns against our allies whom we had, in the meanwhile, purchased at two dollars a head. They are applying the same epithets to us now, when we are forcing the miserably weak republic of Colombia to accept the most ignominious terms—terms that we would never have dreamed of offering to a strong power, and would never accept from the combined powers of the world.

But no matter what may be the political aspects of the hour, I still assert that audacity is not an American trait. There is never a shadow of virtue in it; it is always brazen and outlandish. It was imported from foreign parts—deservedly despised by "Anglo-Saxonism"—and it should have been excluded under the provisions of the Dingley tariff. It has, however, been imported, and its perturbed spirit has been applied vigorously in several of our recent international disputes; yet, it is still uncongenial to our clime, our soil, and our native disposition. There is, in the breasts of our kin across the sea, a spirit known as "jingoism," which loudly asserts its virtues, while annexing the territory of red, black, and brown men all over the world; and still farther across the channel there abides the spirit of "chauvinism," which thinks that France is the greatest and mightiest of all countries, and robs and pil-



lages under the tri-color, once liberty's true banner. Still farther there is what some virtuous Germans deride as "hourra patriotisme;" and still farther to the east is the Lord knows what depth or height of despotism and arrogance. With all these qualities we have, or should have, no sympathy.

The true Yankee quality of boldness is *pluck*. We did, however, invent the phrase "our country, right or wrong;" but the gallant inventor, we fancy, had in mind only occasions of defensive war. The true American quality is the pluck of Bunker Hill, of Valley Forge, of King's Mountain, of Cowpens, and of Sumter. It is the courage that is daring when occasion arises, but never seeks a false or unrighteous occasion. When occasion arises, however, it enters upon war "happy as a lover, and attired with sudden brightness." It was formerly a quality of this pluck that it was also patient and just in war—no treachery, no "water-cures," no tortures, no rapine—but

"In the height of conflict keeps the law

In calmness made, and sees what it foresaw."

It must be admitted that these ideals have been departed from in our recent wars, but as these wars were petty and insignificant, the conduct of a few men in them is not sufficient to stain the character of our people. It was a Frenchman who devised, in a flash of genius, the wonderful phrase *tourjours l'audace*—audacity, more audacity, always audacity. It is true that the hard-fighting Romans had a phrase of their own, that "fortune favors the brave;" but this is weak and inexpressive in comparison with the virile insolence of the Gallic, "always audacity!" The latter reveals, in a single luminous flash, the depth that separates as a great gulf the French from the Roman mind. It is an error to imagine France as a descendant of Rome. The handful of Greeks that settled at Massalia (Marseille) had more influence upon the French mind than all the Roman legions and cohorts and arches and military roads and amphitheatres. The Attic salt was transferred from Athen to France, and it is a happy tribute to Greek influence that from this little Greek colony in the south of France should have come the true spirit of modern liberty and the most in-

spiring expression of that spirit in the noblest lyric, both of war and of peace, that the world has ever heard.

It was, perhaps, that gay marauder, Alcibiades, to whom no private door, nor temple, nor reputation in Athens, was sacred, who invented, or brought to its perfect flower, the audacity of the Greeks. They were the really audacious people of the ancient world, as witness their numerous expeditions with a handful of men against the power of Persia, purely in the interest of pillage, and for the glory of the fight—to “smell the breathing battle sharp with blows, with shriek of shafts and snapping short of bows.”

Napoleon, who seems to have risked everything at almost every moment of his existence, did not consider that he, himself, was especially audacious. In discussing the quality of derring-do in the milder shades of St. Helena, he declared that he was never rash. No matter what risks he took, they were carefully planned and thought out. But it was the great Frederick of Prussia to whom Napoleon attributed the rashness and audacity that has since characterized another Prussian king and German emperor, and that has since appeared, sporadically, in the breasts of our presidents. It is too appropriate to seem a mere coincidence that a statue of this rash and audacious king of Prussia should have been presented by the present rash and audacious emperor of Germany as a fitting gift to the president of the republic of the United States.

Although audacity is not a native American quality, there is no doubt that it is fast becoming the distinguishing mark of present-day American statesmanship. Very few of the presidents of the United States have exhibited this quality, although it flashed out in Jackson, who deliberately announced a state of war with Spain merely because it was convenient that the United States should have possession of Florida; and it overcame the tendency of McKinley to live with his ear close to the ground that he might hear the thunder march of the American people, when he hastened forward orders that sent Dewey to Manila, and began a new era in American national life, the end and the possible catastrophe of which no man can foresee. It also flashed out in Mr. Cleveland, when, with a superb

courage, or folly, he challenged the overwhelming power of Great Britain in the Venezuelan dispute. This was a case in which pure arrogance and bravado won, as they frequently win in a game of poker. But Mr. Roosevelt has advanced beyond these precedents. He is fairly saturated with the spirit of audacity, and could appropriately adopt as his motto, *tour-jours l'audace*. He is nothing if he is not audacious.

The infection has not stopped at the White House. It has gone deeper. Even the pacific Mr. Hay, the most peaceful and non-combative of American state secretaries, has tasted its poison, and has acted with immeasurable audacity toward Colombia. In this case, the audacity of President Roosevelt and of Mr. Hay, while going to lengths undreamed of by Mr. Cleveland, yet falls short of the pure daring of Mr. Cleveland, who deliberately and bravely challenged the first power of the world. It is quite a different thing to hurl insults and challenges at a power too contemptible in strength to war against.

Perhaps the palmary instance of Mr. Roosevelt's audacity was when he paraphrased—almost quoted—the words of Jesus, in trying to force the Ohio convention to support his aspirations for the presidency, when he telegraphed to Senator Hanna that whoever was not for him was against him. It seemed bad enough, as a question of taste, to send a telegram of this kind to a man who, despite his own desire, would, as Mr. Roosevelt knew, inevitably be urged as a candidate for the presidency; but when, in addition to this, he used the language of Jesus in which to convey his own mandate, the incident becomes possibly the most audacious thing in American politics. Mr. Bryan's "cross of gold" is mild in comparison.

The virus of audacity seems indeed to have gone entirely through the President's nature. It is not reserved for great occasions, like the storming of Kettle Hill, but it enters into all the paths that were once paths of peace. He wears his audacity like a garment. Must we not attribute to sheer audacity the attitude assumed with reference to notorious corruptions in Delaware, and attacks upon vested business interests? Must we not attribute to sheer audacity, also, the attempt—which



will probably be successful—of foisting upon a large body of competent and experienced military officers a mere army surgeon who, it is said by men of authority, was under fire only once, at the little skirmish of Las Guásimas? General Wilson has testified that General Wood was not even present at the battle of San Juan, and it has also been strongly asserted that he was not even under fire in the famous Gerónimo campaign, and Secretary Root himself says that Gen. Young “won the fight at Guásimas.” For the titular head of any army to place so raw and inexperienced a soldier above men who have won their rank by active and brilliant service, is certainly a species of audacity at which even the rash Frederick would have stood aghast.

The Panamá affair—no matter whether it is proved that our course was just or unjust—is an almost impassable reach of audacity. No American, when the excitement and hurrah naturally incident, as a sort of gallery applause, to this spectacular act, has passed away, can fail to blush at our effrontery toward the weak state of Colombia; and yet the President has very frankly confessed that his attitude would have been even more audacious, if possible, had the revolution at Panamá not supervened in good time to further American interests. He says, in his recent message, that it was his intention to consult congress as to “whether under such circumstances it would not be proper to announce that the canal was to be dug forthwith; that we would give the terms that we had offered and no other; and that if such terms were not agreed to we would enter into an arrangement with Panamá direct, or take what other steps were needed in order to begin the enterprise.” In other words, the president of the United States was prepared to enter into negotiations with an integral portion of a friendly state, and foment rebellion—for rebellion would have been necessary to carry out his purposes—and thus seize an advantage that he could not gain by pacific and ordinary means. It is well, at least, that this country was spared the humiliation and the ineradicable stain that such a course would have brought upon us.

But it does not matter so much what may be the audacity

of one or two presidents, and it is fortunate that the rashness of presidents Jackson, Cleveland, and Roosevelt has not yet plunged us into a disastrous war. The real danger to this country is that the presidency is so poorly safeguarded. Mr. Roosevelt has revealed its possibilities of danger to the people. He has shown that the constitutional and traditional safeguards supposed to hedge in the dignity of the White House are but as green withes in the hands of a young, audacious, and strenuous Samson. According to Mr. Roosevelt's secretary of the navy, Mr. Long, this spirit of audacity was strikingly revealed when Mr. Roosevelt was assistant secretary of the navy and advised, according to Mr. Long, the sending of an American fleet to sink the ships of Spain before a declaration of war. Although Mr. Roosevelt's friends have denied this, Mr. Long has reasserted it. But, as president, the dangers into which this audacity could plunge the nation are, of course, increased a thousand-fold. Even now, when there arises a protest from millions of Americans against our conduct in Panamá, this protest is met by the cool inquiry if it is possible that the American people will rebuke the president by failing to support his action! Of course, the strength of such an inquiry is that, no matter whether the action is right or wrong, it is the duty of the people to support it blindly.

It is the growth of these two aspects—the spirit of autocracy in the president of the United States, and the acquiescence in the manifestations of that spirit, as if it were treason to oppose it or to denounce it—that constitutes the greatest danger to American free institutions and to righteous thinking. Not only may our future rulers, relying upon the precedents of Jackson, Cleveland, and Roosevelt, arrogate to themselves the power, or a greater power than that, of kaiser or tsar, but they will do so with the calm confidence that their partizans will silence all protests by the “patriotic” cry that what the president has done must, in all conscience, be approved. The presidency, long supposed to be almost an empty honor, has now been shown to be a post of the greatest peril to the people, when it is occupied by an audacious spirit.

Mr. Goldwin Smith, in a recent article, made the sugges-

tion that the increase in mob spirit in this country was partly due to Mr. Roosevelt's preachment of the "strenuous life" and denunciation of "weaklings." This, according to Mr. Smith, has created a dangerous desire on the part of many lawless spirits to be "doing something," and leads to mobs, to lynchings, and to other deeds of violence. This is its peril to the moral life of the people, just as the international manifestations of audacity are a peril to public morals and to the liberties of the country.

There can be no objection to strenuousness. Indeed, in this age of sharp competition in every field of endeavor, a great deal of strenuousness is necessary for success. Even the philosophic poet, Wordsworth, urged upon his friend—

"Still to be strenuous for the bright reward,  
And in the heart admit of no decay,  
Brook no continuance of weak-mindedness—  
Great is the glory, for the strife is hard."

This kind of strenuousness is to be commended, and nothing is more needed in the life both of the country and of the people. But it has nothing to do with the hurrahs, and the waving of banners, and the incitement to violence and war that are falsely assumed to represent the strenuous life of American statesmanship.



## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

FROM THE tone and persistency with which it is demanded that Mr. Hanna pledge himself not to be a candidate, it would almost seem as if he had lost the right to accept a nomination for the presidency. Mr. Roosevelt has done many strange things, and has some peculiar characteristics, but he has hardly acquired a divine right to the presidency.

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MR. BRYAN thinks this is not a good year for him to be a candidate, but he refuses to promise not to be a candidate in the future. He says his talk with Chamberlain and Balfour strengthened his views on tariff reform. Of course they think our tariff ought to be reduced, as that would help England; but is that a good reason why Bryan should favor it?

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IN THE ARTICLE entitled "Sense versus Sensation in Politics," in Gunton's for December, it was stated that Mr. Hanna was appointed to fill the vacancy of United States Senator upon the death of Senator Sherman. Of course, this should have been on the retirement or resignation of Senator Sherman, who had given up his seat in the Senate to accept the position of Secretary of State in McKinley's cabinet.

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RUSSIA SURELY has become a menace to the world's peace, and a hindrance to civilization. Her definite promise is no longer to be taken seriously. She stands for both religious and political despotism of the most barbaric kind. She appears to have neither political honor nor moral scruples. She constantly plots by means of conspiracy, stealth, and duplicity to take dishonorable advantage of her neighbors. Now it is Turkey, now it is China, and now Japan. If Russia forces Japan to take up arms, she ought to find no quarter with any civilization.

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FATE is really cruel to that select group of enlightened leaders of public opinion and guardians of the nation's honor, to refuse them another nomination for Grover Cleveland.

These "true seers" pretend to see what no one else can, that he alone can save the party from another defeat. If fate and the people could only forget what happened to the country when Cleveland was last in the White House, there might be some hope. But, alas! the people refuse to forget, and the "wise ones" must be left to their lamentations, and the country be spared a third infliction.

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IF THE Democrats expect to make any sort of respectable showing in the national contest this year, they must do more than merely get together. Simple "harmony" among their warring elements will not suffice for victory in 1904. To have any chance of success, the Democrats must not only have harmony, but they must harmonize on two vital propositions; namely: a moderate and rational industrial policy, and a broad-minded conservative candidate. Are they equal to the task? If not, they are surely doomed to another term in the shades of the opposition benches.

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WHEN MR. BRYAN was asked if he favored holding the Democratic convention in New York, he replied with an emphatic "No!" and added:

"It will be far better to put forward a candidate because he deserves to win than because he comes from New York, or for any geographical or other foolish reason."

This is one of the times when Mr. Bryan talked good sense. The notion that a choice of a candidate for President should be governed by his place of residence is extremely absurd. Yet such is the power of habit and custom as against real merit in the politics of popular government.

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THE RACE QUESTION and the color line have made their appearance in Massachusetts. In Sheffield, Berkshire county, the school authorities with (as they say) the intention of relieving a crowded district, opened a school in the colored district. The negroes refused to send their children to this school, but insisted upon sending them to the other schools which were overcrowded by white children. Several of the negro

parents have been fined a dollar for not sending their children to school. This has caused great indignation among the negroes, and the so-called "Jim Crow" school was burned. The colored people of Boston are taking up the case, and now Massachusetts has the color line and a race problem on its hands.

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THE ANTI-FREE TRADE agitation now going on in England is forcing a general and comprehensive discussion of the protection question. There are more than twenty prominent members of Parliament besides numerous would-be members on the stump throughout the country. Mr. Chamberlain is leading the protection forces, and Lord Rosebery the free-traders. The fact that every speech delivered by Mr. Chamberlain or Mr. Balfour is closely watched, widely published, and severely criticised, forces the protection advocates to treat the subject with great care and comprehension as to both facts and doctrine. This must have a very wholesome effect upon both sides of the discussion. Besides breaking up a national superstition in favor of a false economic dogma, this controversy between giants will have a valuable educational influence upon the whole English people.

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MR. OLNEY'S speech at the Democratic harmony-dinner in New York ought to put him off the list of possible candidates for the Presidency. He has evidently learned nothing on the tariff question since 1892. Like Mr. Cleveland, he still hankers for "a tariff for revenue only". It showed that in order to elect their candidate the Democrats will have to carry the entire South, including West Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, and also New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Indiana. This would give them only three majority in the electoral college. A very little "horse" sense is necessary to see that under these conditions no Democratic candidate can have a ghost of chance of carrying New York, New Jersey, or Connecticut who stands for such a tariff revision, reciprocity, and corporation-badgering policy as that outlined by Mr. Olney in his New York speech.



MR. OLNEY'S speech at the Democratic dinner seems to have badly frightened Senator Platt and the New York *Sun*. Mr. Platt calls it "the return of the Democratic party to a sane and dangerous condition". With an evident note of alarm, the *Sun* exclaims:

It may be that Mr. Cleveland will not be nominated, but it is of ominous suggestion to all observing Republicans like Mr. Platt, when in the pivotal State of New York evidence increases that Democrats are uniting in the conviction so eloquently expressed by Mr. Richard Olney.

It is difficult to think of but one explanation of this mutual alarm of the Senator and the *Sun*. That is, they both know that nothing would so completely insure the election of Roosevelt as the nomination of Cleveland,—not that they fear Cleveland, but that they love not Roosevelt.

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IN AN ELABORATE address at Edinburgh, Lord Rosebery (a great land-owner) attacks Mr. Chamberlain's two-shillings a quarter duty as affording no protection to the English farmers. Mr. Chamberlain will do well to weigh carefully this criticism. It is highly probable that Lord Rosebery is nearly right on this point. The "dumping" from this and other countries may easily neutralize a two-shilling duty. Mr. Giffen is undoubtedly right in estimating that nothing less than a five-shilling duty will afford any effective protection to the English farmers. Mr. Chamberlain and his friends should not permit themselves to be frightened into adopting too low a tariff by the outcry about the "dear loaf". The free-traders will make just as much fuss about "taxing the poor man's bread" for a two-shilling tariff as they will for a five-shilling tariff. It will be a fatal mistake for the protectionists to make the tariff too low to be effective. It will be far better, both as a test of the doctrine and for the industrial condition of the empire, to have the duty a shilling too high than a shilling too low. The latter would be of slight importance and could be easily corrected, while the former would be fatal to the whole proposition.

A WRITER in the New York *Sun* calls attention to the fact that when Napoleon ceded the territory of Louisiana to the United States he acted on a long range policy, namely, that of taking from England her maritime supremacy. That this was a part of his motive is clear from the following statement made to his council:

To emancipate the nations from the commercial tyranny of England it is necessary to counterpoise hers by a maritime power which may one day become her rival, and that is the United States. The English aspire to dispose of all the wealth of the world. I shall be useful to the entire universe if I can prevent them from dominating America as they dominate Asia.

Then again, after signing the cession, he said:

This accession of territory establishes forever the power of the United States, and I am giving to England a maritime rival which sooner or later shall humble her pride."

Whatever may be said of Napoleon's ambition, it can not be denied that he had a clearer insight into the trend of political events of the future than any of his great contemporaries. While the statesmen of all Europe were looking upon the young republic with scorn and contempt, Napoleon alone saw its coming greatness as a national power, and a wholesome influence in the world's civilization.

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HENRY WHITE, Secretary of the United Garment Workers, is one of the ablest and most liberal-minded labor leaders in this country. Mr. White is thoroughly true to the trade-unions. He is one of their most devoted and intelligent defenders; but unlike many of the union leaders, he does not defend the defects of labor-unions. On the contrary, he calls special attention to them and frankly tells his followers that they can not expect public support unless they earn it by conducting their unions on the principle of economic and social fairness.

In a recent article in his paper, *The Clothing Trades*, he gives the unions the following wholesome advice:

By placing themselves in right relation to society the unions will vastly increase their usefulness and strengthen their position. They

should endeavor to develop their economic functions, increase the efficiency of the membership and insist upon their just share of an ever-increasing product. The narrow restrictions by which they hope to prolong work, increase the number of jobs, and protect incompetent members must be abandoned in favor of a broader policy. Instead of hampering industry, they should promote it. They should take into consideration the changeableness of present employments, due to labor-saving methods, and adapt themselves to them. They should prepare the members for the new employment that open up as a result of cheapened production, instead of vainly trying to preserve obsolete ones. The necessity for the existence of unions in order to equalize the advantages possessed by the employer is conceded. The next thing is to demonstrate that they are a progressive force in the community, and that they are fully aware of their obligations. By placing themselves on a sound, economic basis they will become impregnable.

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THE PRESIDENT'S Panamá message is evidently the answer to the request or challenge of Senator Hoar that he give the facts justifying his course in Panamá. The message is a very long, free-handed paper, and furnishes an explanation and material for defense satisfactory to his friends, all of whose presumptions were in his favor. To those who are more exacting and critical in their demands, and to those who are jealous of our reputation as a peaceful nation, and fearful of the spirit of militarism, the message is quite unsatisfactory. It clears up none of the ugly and awkward questions upon which hang their doubts and fears. Although the President makes it quite clear that the administration had no official knowledge of the revolution before it occurred, and did nothing to aid its success, the promptness, if not the precipitancy with which it acted at every point, confirms the growing impression that the President is over-willing to steer the country dangerously near the edge of trouble.

It is quite safe to say that few, if any, of the things we did at Panamá, much less Secretary Hay's reply to General Reyes, would ever have been permitted had we been dealing with a strong, instead of a very weak nation. It must be admitted that, from the point of view of civilization, the building of the Panamá canal is far more important than even the autonomy of a petty state like Columbia; but to ignore the legal method



of procedure, even with ruffians, tends to undermine the institutions of civilized society. Like lynching, it strengthens the force of mob law and weakens the force of legal authority. This is dangerous in either domestic or international policy.

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THE PASSING of the dividend on the common stock by the United States Steel Corporation is not a great surprise to those conversant with the trend of business conditions. This step was clearly justified by the company's full and frank statement of its diminished business and earnings. It can not be denied that this is not an encouraging showing, yet it should not be taken as correctly indicating the state of general business nor even the real state of the United States Steel Corporation's business. Many influences have operated to reduce this concerns volume of business that did not arise from economic causes. As the *Evening Post* truly says:

Open discussion of reduction in the price of steel, actual secret reduction by competitors, and rumors, current from time to time, that trade agreements might be abrogated and general price-cutting ensue, all had their place in the trade's history for the quarter. It would have been surprising if orders for steel had not fallen to nominal figures under such circumstances.

Political forces have also had other depressing effects upon business during the last few months. Such, for instance, as the action of the courts in pending decisions and the expected action of the new federal department toward corporations. The uncertain attitude of the courts and the administration together, with the general slackening of business, encourage a state of apprehension regarding business and prices. This has naturally led to the withholding of orders and to making them as small as possible to avoid being caught on the wrong side of a falling market. All this has helped to reduce the volume of the company's business to an abnormal extent during the last few months.

The frank publication of the facts of its entire business will do much to strengthen the confidence of the public in the integrity of the management of this great steel corporation.

## BOOK REVIEWS

LIFE AND TIMES OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. By Thomas E. Watson. 534 pages. \$2.50 net. D. Appleton & Company, New York.

Mr. Watson, even after his late excursions into the domains of history, in his works on France, Napoleon, and Thomas Jefferson, still owes his brightest reputation to the fact that he was so prominent in Populistic politics in the South during the Bryan campaign. He has not developed as an historical writer, and in this, his latest work, he shows that he still has confidence in the jerky, yellow-journalistic style that he used with some effect in his books on Napoleon and France.

His qualification for writing the life of Jefferson is not apparent, although he had written a brief but uninteresting and inadequate biography of the great sage of Monticello. His point of view, however, as well as his fitness for the task, may be judged from his dedication, where he deliberately shows his utter incapacity to appreciate the character of the man who will be considered, perhaps, the greatest figure in American history. He dedicates his book to the proprietor of the *New York Journal*, "because he is today working with splendid ability along the same lines which Mr. Jefferson marked out a hundred years ago." Being able to write that dedication, shows that Mr. Watson is unfitted for the task of writing the life of Thomas Jefferson.

The book, however, is not without some interest and some merit, for the author is a man of intelligence, quick wit, and a certain command of terse and vigorous English. He is most interesting, however, only in occasional purple patches, and then when he is most ridiculous. Whenever he is historical he is uninteresting, and whenever he is interesting he is unhistorical. An idea of his style may be gathered from the following extracts. This is a complete paragraph:

"Blessed pirates!"

This is another:

"A variedly industrious, widely intelligent, eminently

companionable, nobly aspiring, warm-hearted, benevolent, bright-tempered man."

Another instance showing his qualification for his task of writing impartial history is when he has to deal briefly with two spies—Captain Nathan Hale and Major André. An historian should not have the kind of patriotism that makes him unjust, or warps his judgment; yet of the American spy Mr. Watson writes:

"Brave Nathan Hale takes his life in his hands and goes into the British lines to gather information for the desperately situated Americans."

Of André, the British spy, he writes:

"His fine watch, his gold, his frantic offers of wealth, avail nothing against these stern patriots of the North. High on the gibbet he swings, like *any other spy*."

These two estimates of the same kind of dishonorable work, sanctioned by a lax morality, and as viewed from different sides of the battle-line, are given within two pages of each other.

For Theodore Roosevelt, Mr. Watson would not be expected to have a very kind word, and on the subject of Jefferson it must be admitted that Mr. Roosevelt does not deserve one. Mr. Watson attacks Mr. Roosevelt's estimate of Jefferson as timid and vacillating, and for calling Jefferson a "politician of the infamous stripe." Mr. Watson's reply to this is beautifully characteristic, and on the printed page looks like a sheaf of Parthian darts hurled at the present occupant of the White House. He writes:

As President of the United States, also, Mr. Roosevelt has had the widest field, the largest opportunity, to show his courage and ability.

There was a class greed to curb, as in Jefferson's day.

Common humanity, sorely oppressed, called for a champion, as in Jefferson's day.

The weak, trampled upon by the strong, cried aloud for mercy, as in Jefferson's day.

Is Mr. Roosevelt a "politician of the infamous stripe"?

By no means.

Is he weak, timid, vacillating"?

Far from it.



Then where are his trophies, such as Jefferson won?

What battles has he fought for the people, such as Jefferson fought?

What vested wrongs has he abolished, what abuses has he remedied, what evil laws has he repealed, what unjust system has he reformed, what victim of social and industrial tyranny has he freed?

Where has he confronted class despotism and, with battle-ax in hand, said "Turn loose!"?

Yes, comparisons *are* odious.

This last "ditto to Shakspeare" is irresistible.

It is a pity that Mr. Watson's rather limited reading of Mr. Roosevelt's writings did not prompt him to score the President on another point. It was Mr. Roosevelt who declared some time ago, in the *Review of Reviews*, that Thomas Jefferson was George Washington's vice-president. Mr. Watson, as well as most historians, has supposed that he was secretary of state under Washington, and that Adams was vice-president.

This biography of Thomas Jefferson will hardly be accepted as definitive, although it will unquestionably direct more attention to the many-sided and marvelous Virginian who has made perhaps a deeper impression upon American institutions than any half-dozen other men in our history.

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AMERICAN TARIFF CONTROVERSIES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Edward Stanwood. Two volumes. \$5.00 net. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.

Perhaps no other student of our industrial and political history is better qualified to write a record of American tariff controversies than Mr. Edward Stanwood, whose "History of the Presidency" is already so familiar. In these two volumes, Mr. Stanwood has brought together a mass of information, and has made a summary of numerous and historic discussions of the tariff that will be invaluable for years to come. Nowhere else, indeed, could such satisfactory information be obtained on this important topic.

There is no doubt, as the author says in his introduction, that the tariff has been the most persistent issue in American politics. It was the disagreement over the tariff that broke

down the Confederation and led to the formation of the Union and the adoption of our present Constitution; it was the tariff that led to the most exciting presidential contests in our history; it is the tariff today that is perhaps the principal subject of partizan dispute.

Mr. Stanwood calls attention to a striking coincidence in the history of this country and in that of the British colonies. He says that while our states were still colonies they levied tariffs against one another, but that when they merged under the Constitution they adopted free trade for interstate traffic, and protection as against the rest of the world. This was the course followed by Canada and Australia.

The author, while writing as a protectionist, is sufficiently impartial to be able to include in his volumes all the arguments on both sides; so his book becomes a repository of information on the tariff that is as useful to the free-trader or the advocate of a tariff for revenue only, as it is to the strict protectionist. Among the most important discussions summarized and subjects treated in this book are, Hamilton's Report on Manufactures, the famous Report of Walker in 1846, the Protective Nature of the First Tariff, and the Industrial Upheaval in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century. These give a sufficient idea of the value and the scope of the two volumes.

In the introduction, Mr. Stanwood deals briefly with the growth of the protective idea in this country, showing that the accusation made by free-traders, that protectionists have frequently shifted their ground, is true; but that these changes were not only necessary, but were in the direction of evolution, and were the natural and essential outcome of the development of the protective policy. We quote as follows:

Writers upon the tariff history of this country seem not to have apprehended at its true importance the growth and development of the protective idea. It has sometimes been used as a reproach against protectionists that they have repeatedly changed their grounds, that they have dropped the motive at one time assigned by them for advocating their system and have placed their reliance upon arguments wholly new. The charge itself is true, but the change of motive merely marks the accomplishment of one object and progress toward a new and grander purpose. In its inception the idea was merely the principle that

this country must encourage and secure the production within itself of all things indispensable in time of war,—the aim of a weak nation which has just succeeded in its struggle for independence. In this form it appealed to all the people; and so did the motive developed in Hamilton's great Report on Manufactures, that it was desirable to open new outlets for industry in order to supplement agriculture. When the early tariff laws, designed as they professedly were to protect our "infant industries", failed to furnish adequate defense against foreign commercial domination, when Great Britain was able to boast that, if it had lost the American colonies, it had almost complete possession of their trade, a new argument for protection was furnished. Political independence had been achieved; it must be perfected by adding to its commercial and industrial independence. . . . Southern opposition to a policy that would increase the numerical and consequently the political preponderance of the North led to the introduction of the constitutional argument against the protective system, which now began to add to its phrases "diversified industries," "the home market," and "the American system," each of which indicates a new aim of the protectionist policy. Industries were multiplied and magnified, the number of the employed increased, and the labor question arose. Then it became expedient to continue, extend, and complete the system in order to maintain the relatively high rate of wages which has always prevailed in this country; and the best of all arguments was thus furnished to those who, not being themselves interested personally in manufactures, adheres to the cause of protection.

It is gratifying to have such a work on so important a branch of American history, and Mr. Stanwood has added to his own reputation as an historian and put under obligations every one who is interested in the study of American history and industrial and commercial life.

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STUDIES IN THE EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY. By Richard T. Ely. Macmillan Co. New York and London. \$1.25 net.

This is one of the numbers of the Citizen's Library, and has all the merits of clearness, condensation, good type, and general appearance, that characterize that very admirable series of books.

Mr. Ely in this volume gives a general survey of the field, and then devotes himself to some of the special problems of industrial evolution, such as, competition, social and race



improvement, monopolies and trusts, municipal ownership, concentration of wealth, etc. The general survey is of particular value, and well repays reading on the part of any student, no matter how little he may be really interested in the subject. Nowhere else, we believe, can a better summary of the present conditions of industrial society, making allowances of course for the author's particular views, be found, than is here presented.

In dealing with special problems, however, Mr. Ely does not seem to have arrived at any definite conclusions. He leaves most of them unsolved, and contents himself with pointing out certain considerations that may hereafter lead to proper solutions. This is particularly true where he deals with monopolies and trusts, competition, and municipal ownership. He agrees in general with the well-known view of Professor Lester Ward with reference to competition, that its effect "is to prevent any form from attaining its maximum development and to maintain a comparatively low level for all forms that succeed in surviving". The author, however, takes the position that "competition is a permanent feature of human society", and he thinks that it will mount to higher and higher elevations in a rivalry for better and better things". This view is rather idealistic for a practical book, and the author does not seem to bring out clearly the idea that true competition would mean the survival of the best, and would result in the continued improvement of the human race. For instance, while he believes in protecting the best as against the worst, he does not seem clear upon the position that human society, if it is to progress at all, must have its higher elements protected from continual assault on the part of the lower and vicious classes. That kind of rivalry of competition is what, in Professor Ward's view, prevents the really fittest from surviving.

Of monopolies and trusts, the writer thinks that public opinion is being modified, and that great corporations are considered less dangerous than they have been heretofore. The most definite conclusion that he arrives at, is that we are merely "gathering experience which will give us more light on the problems presented".

The same indefiniteness marks his treatment of the problem of municipal ownership. He says "that during the past fifty years there has been a continuous improvement in the government of English cities, and that this improvement has been accomplished by a continual expansion of municipal activity". While this seems to him to indicate a sound tendency toward municipal control, he still hesitates to accept that as a solution of the problem, and concludes with the suggestion that "municipal ownership is a question of social psychology".

These problems are, however, in their very nature, still open for solution, and it is probable that many years must elapse before sufficient data can be gathered, and sufficient experience had, to enable society to decide for itself the proper solution.

One particular value of the book lies in its grouping of other works on the same topics, which will be of great assistance to any one that wishes to continue his study or reading along these lines.

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NATION-WIDE CIVIC BETTERMENT. A Report of the Third Annual Convention of the American League for Civic Improvement. Published by The League, Chicago.

This is a report of the work done by the League and contains, besides, a number of articles on subjects related to civic improvement throughout the country. The general nature of these articles may be inferred from a few titles: "Artistic Possibilities of European Immigrants," "Arts and Crafts in the Home and in the School," "Recent Tendencies of American Country Life," and "Municipal Reform in Practise."

The Field Secretary of the League, Mr. E. G. Routzahn, is conducting a course of Civic Betterment in the *Chautauquan*, which effectively aids in accomplishing the objects of the American League for Civic Improvement. Such a movement commends itself to the approval of every public-spirited citizen.

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THE BOOK OF THE SHORT STORY. Edited by Alexander Jessup and Henry Seidel Canby. Cloth; 507 pages. \$1.10. D. Appleton & Company, New York.

In most books and essays dealing with the Short-story,

there is to be found no standard of that peculiarly modern form of fiction. The editors of this book have, however, avoided that evil by adopting what may be termed an elastic standard, by means of which the short story of a century ago, or of twenty centuries ago, was an entirely different thing from the Short-story of today. This seems to have been adopted in all its elasticity so that it might stretch over the centuries running from 2500 B. C. to 1900 of the Christian era. Its tremendous flexibility is seen in the facility with which it measures a simple tale of fable, as well as that marvelous work of genius—"A Coward," by De Maupassant, and even a novelette by Turgenieff—"A Lear of the Steppes," in upward of thirty thousand words. If the "Book of Ruth," the papyrus tale of "The Ship-wrecked Sailor," "The Story of Cupid and Psyche," "Rip Van Winkle," "A Coward," by De Maupassant, and "A Lear of the Steppes," can all be embraced in the same category, then it is impossible that there should be any distinct form known as the Short-story. It would be as logical to include poetry and prose, or painting and typography, in the same class.

At the beginning of the introduction, the editors take the position that prior to the nineteenth century "the short story differs from the long principally in the matter of length." After the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, they seem to find that a new standard is necessary; and they finally wind up by accepting Poe's standard without giving credit to Poe,—that the distinctive purpose of the Short-story is to convey a definite impression.

Edgar Allen Poe was the first to recognize the Short-story as a distinct literary form, and it is a little remarkable that he made this recognition in his wonderful criticism of Hawthorne, who writes the Short-story with less of the modern, and more of the ancient manner, than any of its masters. It is difficult to see how the cold genius of Hawthorne and his tiresome manner could ever have appealed to a mind like Poe's; but there was enough of what Poe considered the real element of the Short-story in Hawthorne's best work for this master genius to recognize the product as a new and distinct literary form. Poe contended, and consistently showed in his own work, that the



true art of Short-story writing is very closely akin both to poetry and the drama, inasmuch as the object of all three is the achievement of "a certain unique or single effect." This effect was the "pre-established design" of the work, and gave it its entire coloring and effectiveness. It is this that makes such stories as De Maupassant's "Coward," "The Diamond Necklace," and "The Piece of String," and Stevenson's "Markheim," as beautiful and thrilling in their effects as a drama by Ibsen.

It would seem, therefore, that with the editors of the book under consideration the chief difference between the Short-story of the present day and the short story of antiquity is a matter of capitalization. In other words, if they write "short story" with two small s's, it may mean a story that is merely short—a tale, a fable, an allegory, an extract from a long novel, or an historical incident; but if they write it with two capital s's, then it is an entirely different thing and may be a novelette by Turgenieff of 30,000 to 40,000 words, or one of De Maupassant's masterpieces of 2,500.

This lack of definiteness in the idea of what a short story is, as well as the inclusion of such widely variant forms in one class, mars the book and lessens its utility. Of its 500 pages, 300 are devoted to stories that are not Short-stories. Of the other 200, nearly one-half is taken up with the novelette by Turgenieff; and the selection of the seven Short-stories remaining is not entirely satisfactory.

We think it a mistake that at least one of Aldrich's stories, say "Miss Mehetable's Son;" Coppée's "The Captain's Vices," a story by Daudet, and one by Zola, could not have been included. In the 200 pages set aside for the real Short-story, at least fifteen of the very best short stories could have been given, and the book would then have been a work of great value, both to the ambitious writers of the Short-story, who wish to study it in its highest form, and to readers who are also desirous of having examples of this form of literature in its greatest excellence and variety. Even as it is, however, the book will be found of value, especially to young writers.

## CURRENT COMMENT

**The President's Message on Panamá** The President was authorized to secure for the United States the property of the Panamá Canal Company and the perpetual control of a strip six miles wide across the Isthmus of Panamá. It was further provided that "should the President be unable to obtain for the United States a satisfactory title to the property of the New Panamá Canal Company and the control of the necessary territory of the Republic of Colombia . . . within a reasonable time and upon reasonable terms, then the President" should endeavor to provide for a canal by the Nicaragua route. The language quoted defines with exactness and precision what was to be done, and what as a matter of fact has been done. The President was authorized to go to the Nicaragua route only if within a reasonable time he could not obtain "control of the necessary territory of the Republic of Colombia." This control has now been obtained; the provision of the act has been complied with; it is no longer possible under existing legislation to go to the Nicaragua route as an alternative.

When in August it began to appear probable that the Colombian Legislature would not ratify the treaty, it became incumbent upon me to consider well what the situation was and to be ready to advise the Congress as to what were the various alternatives of action open to us. There were several possibilities. One was that Colombia would at the last moment see the unwisdom of her position. That there might be nothing omitted, Secretary Hay, through the minister at Bogotá, repeatedly warned Colombia that grave consequences might follow from her rejection of the treaty. Although it was a constantly diminishing chance, yet the possibility of ratification did not wholly pass away until the close of the session of the Colombian Congress.

It was the opinion of eminent international jurists that in view of the fact that the great design of our guarantee under the treaty of 1846 was to dedicate the Isthmus to the purposes of interoceanic transit, and above all to secure the construction of an interoceanic canal, Colombia could not under existing conditions refuse to enter into a proper arrangement with the United States to that end, without violating the spirit and substantially repudiating the obligations of a treaty the full benefits of which she had enjoyed for over fifty years. My intention was to consult the Congress as to whether under such circumstances it would not be proper to announce that the canal was to be dug forthwith; that we would give the terms that we had

offered and no others; and that if such terms were not agreed to we would enter into an arrangement with Panamá direct, or take what other steps were needful in order to begin the enterprise.

In conclusion let me repeat that the question actually before this government is not that of the recognition of Panamá as an independent republic. That is already an accomplished fact. The question, and the only question, is whether or not we shall build an isthmian canal.

*Roosevelt* 158-62  
Panamá and  
 the President

"To the Honorable Senate of the United States:  
 "The undersigned citizens of the United States, residents of the city of New Haven, without distinction of party, respectfully state:

"That there is a recognized body of laws which ought to govern the conduct of nations.

"That the law is uniform, not one for the strong and another for the weak, but the same for all.

"That a belief has arisen in the minds of many in this country and abroad that in our relations with the State of Colombia we have acted with undue haste; that we have violated, and are about to violate, the rules of international law; and that we are adopting a line of conduct toward that country which we would not take against a stronger power.

"That the fact that Colombia, owing to its comparative weakness, is powerless to resist, demands of us the more caution to avoid the suspicion that we are making an unjust use of our greater power. The mere existence of such a suspicion is injurious to our honor and self-respect.

"We respectfully ask that, before final ratification of the Hay-Varilla treaty, our action in Panamá be subjected to careful and deliberate investigation, to the end, not only that the republic may do no wrong, but that its good repute in the world, which is dearer than any gain of lands or trade, should suffer no loss.

"Dated at New Haven this 24th day of December, A. D., 1903."

The petitioners include Dean Rogers and Prof. Theodore S. Woolsey, of the Yale Law School; ex-President Franklin Carter of Williams College, now living in New Haven; Professors Beers, A. M. Wheeler, Bourne, Perrin, Sumner, and Schwab of the Yale Academic Department; Professors Lindsley and Carmalt of the Yale Medical School; Dean Sanders and Prof. B. W. Bacon of the Yale Divinity School; Doctors Newman Smyth, A. J. Haynes, and W. L. Phillips, pastors of the three leading Congregational churches; and Thomas Hooker,



W. A. Wright, and Talcott H. Russell, of this city.—*Petition as to the Panamá situation.*

In fewer words, this is a proclamation that might makes right, and in the present temper of the American people it can hardly be questioned that this is the accepted American gospel, whether first established by Lewis Cass or Theodore Roosevelt. But after all is said, the injustice and wrong we have inflicted on the republic of Colombia is not changed in its relation to the eternal principles of right. A better way was possible—one more in accord with American principles and American conscience, but it was not the bullying way of President Roosevelt. *He* has bartered the national faith and honor for dollars and grab.—*Pittsburg Post.*

In our relations with Colombia we have certainly tried to do right. We wished to construct a public work of great benefit to Colombia and the world. We offered Colombia a most liberal price for the privilege of thus spending our money.

We found at Bogotá, in control of the Colombian government, a set of men who regarded Panamá as merely a personal asset. Our offers were offensively rejected, not for any reason of principle, but merely in the hope of extorting from us a larger price. We declined to be blackmailed.

Are we bound to consider the personal interests of Bogotá blackmailers above those of Panamá and of our own? Are we bound to abstain from righteous action lest we injure the wicked?

These prominent citizens of New Haven and these Yale professors say we are. According to their reasoning every man who protects his property from a thief does wrong. He injures the thief by depriving him of the expected spoils.

To such moral absurdities do men come who start thinking of international questions by assuming that their own country is always wrong.—*Chicago Inter-Ocean.*

Colombia asks us to compensate her for the loss of Panamá, the amount of damage to be fixed by the Court of the Hague. Certainly we can not admit that we are responsible for the loss of Panamá or owe her any compensation therefor. We claim that our action has been in exact accord with our treaty rights. We started or fomented no revolution. We saw it coming and we looked on benevolently.

But we can also afford to have it adjudicated. Let Colombia file its full claim with us, and ask us to agree to its adjudication by the Hague Tribunal. We ought to allow such

reference. If we are right we shall gain the case and stand better with the world, and Colombia herself will be satisfied that we have done her no wrong. She will bear no grudge. If we are wrong, we want it made clear, and we will pay the damages. That is honest and fair, and we, as a strong nation, should seek to take no advantage of a weak one. We shall also in so doing give honor and vogue to the tribunal of The Hague. —*The Independent*.

Was the revolution regional, local, isolated? We do not possess at this moment material information sufficient to warrant us in arriving at a conclusion upon this point. The people of the department of Panamá were certainly in favor of the treaty concluded with the United States of North America for the opening of the isthmus; but the other forces in the national life of Colombia were opposed to the instrument. Was the separatist movement in any way connected with this antagonism of interests? Is the separation satisfactory to the United States? Is the problem confronting the United States rendered easier of solution by the event which has been brought about? We do not know. In due time we expect that light sufficient to see clearly will be thrown upon the whole subject. In this country the event has caused a feeling of alarm in the minds of those who fear the advance and the powerful influence of the North in Latin America.—*Prensa, Buenos Aires*.

All through this disagreeable business Americans have been plagued with the consciousness that our nation was not acting in international affairs as a gentleman would act in personal intercourse, that in fact it was acting shabbily, with something of the insolence of the bully and the impudence of the cad. Whenever any of us have asked ourselves if we should have behaved in this fashion toward any power "of our size" we have been compelled to answer that we should not, or that if we had, we at least should not have been accused of cowardice. The situation from that point of view is not pleasant; it is distinctly humiliating, and we are much mistaken if the number of those who feel the humiliation is not steadily increasing.—*New York Times*.

If there be an eternal and immutable principle of right, that right of Colombia has been injured by the United States by an incredible transgression of the limits set by equity and justice.

Before the coup de main which proclaimed the independence of the Isthmus took place at Panamá, there were in this

very city agents of the authors of that coup in conference with high personages clothed with official character, as is asserted by reputable American newspapers.

I have received information to the effect that a bank in New York opened a considerable credit in their favor, with a knowledge of the general use for which it was intended, even though unaware that it was to be applied in part to the bribery of a large part of the garrison at Panamá.—*General Reyes, Colombian special envoy, to Secretary Hay.*

1. The hasty recognition of a new State in Panamá was not in accordance with the law of nations.

2. To justify it by the treaty of 1846 requires a new and forced construction of that instrument.

3. To prevent Colombia's coercion of Panamá is an act of war.

4. The "man in the street's" verdict, that our smart politics served Colombia right, disregards law, sets a dangerous precedent, detracts from the national dignity, and may injure our influence and trade amongst the Latin-American States.

5. Our duty was, and is, to let Colombia recover Panamá if she can; our policy, to use her troubles to get favorable canal action from the rightful sovereign.

6. Our recognition, if persisted in, makes of Panamá a treaty-making agent, but for ourselves only.

7. The canal treaty, negotiated and ratified by the Junta, with no constitutional authority or other authorization, is of doubtful validity, and the defect will need to be subsequently cured.—*Dr. Theodore S. Woolsey, Professor of International Law, Yale University.*

**The President and General Wood** It is declared to us, and facts are brought forward to prove it, that Mr. Roosevelt was not the great hero of San Juan Hill; that he only took part in a minor skirmish in an entirely different part of the field. Then there come cable advices from Manila saying that those who are raising the sunken Spanish vessels at Cavite declare that the ships were not sunk by shells from Dewey's squadron, but that the Spaniards themselves opened the sea-cocks and so sank their own ships in a very prosaic fashion. Then, as we were getting our consciences nicely adjusted to the belief that General Wood had been slandered by charges that he was responsible for the establishment of a pernicious gambling institution in Havana, we are confronted by the testimony of the president of the Jai Alai, who says that the betting is "an integral part of the game," and that



General Wood officially approved the application for a concession "in all its parts," including the gambling feature and a ten-year monopoly. We are also told that Señor Manuel Sanguily, one of the most distinguished of Cuba's Senators, has introduced a bill for the suppression of this legacy left by General Wood, declaring that the game has "become a social cancer," which has "caused the moral and material ruin of a number of persons, well-known merchants having failed owing to their losses on the game, and fathers of families having committed suicide" from the same cause.

Yet among all these attacks on our pet beliefs none, perhaps, comes with more terrific impact than that recently delivered by the secretary of war. Participants in the Geronimo campaign have asserted that throughout the expedition Dr. Wood did not hear a single hostile shot. Acting Brigadier Commander Wood's whereabouts during the San Juan battle are declared to be a mystery. But Guasimas was left us, and we could still believe that it was the master mind of Colonel Wood that led to Spanish defeat and disaster on that fateful morning of June 24, 1898.

And now even this is taken from us. We quote from Secretary Root's order complimenting General Young on the occasion of his retirement:

"He commanded a brigade with distinction in the Santiago campaign, *and won the fight at Guasimas* on the 24th of June, 1898."

So, after all, it was General Young and the regulars of the First and Tenth (colored) cavalry that did the business at Guasimas!

Where does Dr. Wood's military record come in, anyway?  
—*New York Sun*.

<b>Democracy</b> "Sane and Dangerous"	In the matter of our foreign policy the Democratic party will stand for international morality and decent international conduct, for the observance of treaties and for obedience to international law, for respect for the rights of every nation, however small.
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In matters domestic, the Democratic party will repudiate the stand-pat policy and will advocate economy in expenditures and such tariff reform and revision as industrial conditions and the interests of the country may require. In that view it will stand for the same reasonable relation between governmental revenues and government requirements; for clean administration and official conduct free from every suspicion of graft.

You have had a surfeit of sensations and of spectacles, and you need a rest. We need a rest to recover our equilibrium

and to assimilate our undigested dependencies; to get accustomed to exploiting inferior races, for their good and to our great cost; to habituate ourselves generally to strange and abnormal conditions; but most of all to renew and reinvigorate in ourselves that respect for law and that love of liberty and of peace which military domination in any form, however slight or whatever its purpose, tends inevitably to weaken and destroy. In that direction lies the opportunity of the Democratic party. —*Richard Olney in speech at Banquet to Mayor McClellen in New York.*

Senator Platt obviously used the word "dangerous" in relation to the Republican party and its candidate, President Roosevelt. And equally, of course, this "return of the Democratic party to a sane and dangerous condition"—*dangerous because sane*—can mean nothing except the almost universal desire of that party to secure the "national supremacy of a safe and conservative Democracy" which Grover Cleveland so pre-eminently typifies and embodies. Mr. Olney's speech and Senator Platt's admission only tend to confirm us in the belief expressed when the ex-president's letter of declination was published, that "a demand for Mr. Cleveland's candidacy may yet come with a spontaneity and a power that he will find it impossible to resist."—*New York World.*

<b>Russia and Japan</b>	The statement of the Japanese position in the controversy now going on in the Far East, submitted to Secretary Hay by Mr. Takahira, the Japanese minister at Washington, is as brief and explicit an announcement as could by any possibility be wished. The Japanese ask that the political and territorial integrity of China and Korea shall be guaranteed. While recognizing special rights which Russia may have in Manchuria, Japan demands of Russia that she shall recognize equally special rights which Japan has in Korea. While conceding to Russia free trading privileges in Korea, Japan, for herself and others, demands of Russia equal privileges in Manchuria.
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This basis of settlement is one which runs on all fours with the policy which our government has followed in its negotiations for the past five or six years with the governments both of China and Korea. We have wished to have the territorial and political integrity of these two empires respected, believing that any violation of these rights would lead to the dismemberment of these historic nations. The future of the American market in China depends upon the successful assertion of the Japanese programme. In other words, in this in-

stance Japan is to a large degree fighting our battle for us, and hence what the Russians allege to be a "heathen" inroad is simply the assertion of the broad, general rights of humanity against a policy of national aggrandizement and exclusion.—*Boston Herald.*

Germany is bound by the instinct of self-preservation to favor no policy which might induce Russia and France to attack her jointly. Again, France is so firmly convinced that Russia will assist her in regaining Alsace and Lorraine, and in recovering her lost military prestige, that she has no will of her own in foreign affairs other than that of her "great friend and ally." Russia is so paralyzed by internal dissensions between her German, Slav, and Magyar provinces that she is bound to acquiesce in any policy Russia may favor, even if that policy should contemplate the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire and the consequent instalment of Russia at Constantinople as the mistress of the Bosphorus, and the protectress of the Balkan peninsula. Italy is too conscious of her own weakness, so long as the feud between the Vatican and the Quirinal remains unsettled, to listen to any suggestion which might excite the hostility of the mighty Slav empire. Spain has ceased to be a first-class power north of the Pyrenees. Belgium looks to Russia to protect her from the greed of France, while Holland looks to Russia to save her from annexation by Germany. Under these circumstances the idea of any continental coalition, either directly or indirectly, of an anti-Russian character, must be dismissed as impracticable.—*Dr. Edward Dicey on Far Eastern Crisis, in the Nineteenth Century and After.*

The author's [Senator Beveridge] comment on a statement ascribed to the Tsar Nicolas I., "Where the Russian flag is once planted, there it shall remain forever," might convey to the incautious reader an impression that Russian expansion has been uninterrupted. As a matter of fact, since the Russian people were Christianized and partially civilized, their boundaries have often receded. In the thirteenth century, the kingdom founded by Rurik was entirely conquered by the Tatars. Some two hundred years elapsed before even the Grand Duke of Moscow ceased to be a vassal of a Tatar Khan. Another long period supervened before Kieff, which had been the capital of Russia before the Tatar invasion, was wrested from the Poles. The ground on which St. Petersburg stands had once belonged to descendants of Rurik, but afterward, for centuries, was controlled by Sweden. The nineteenth century itself



exhibited two memorable examples of Russian recession. The very Tsar to whom the boast above quoted is attributed ventured upon the Crimean War, by which Russia lost Bessarabia, which she had acquired earlier in the century, and which she only recovered by the Treaty of Berlin. Subsequently the important province of Ili, in Central Asia, which had been occupied by Russia, was surrendered to China after the latter power had recovered Kashgar. We add that our author's Russian friends forgot to tell him that, as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, the Russian pioneer Khabaroff traversed and undertook to occupy the basin of the Amur River, but that the Chinese drove them out, and, by the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689), concluded with the Manchu Dynasty at Peking, then at the height of its power, Russia pusillanimously abandoned her project of advance into the valley of that huge waterway. Nay, more: In her anxiety to keep peace with China, and not endanger the Kiakhta trade, Russia rigorously prohibited and punished all attempts of the Siberians to advance further toward the Amur River until 1855. Most of these facts must have been known to the Tsar Nicolas I. when he uttered the foolish vaunt about Russia's never going backward.—*M. W. H., in the New York Sun.*

The fighting line consists, on the Japanese side, of six battleships and six armored cruisers; on the Russian side, of eight battleships and five armored cruisers. Of protected cruisers, the Japanese have fourteen and the Russians eight, the biggest Russians being rather heavier than the biggest Japanese, and of the same normal speed. There might very well be some interesting "frigate duels" between vessels of this class. But it is unlikely that any of them would be ventured in the line of battle of a great and decisive sea fight. That line would be formed of the battleships and armored cruisers. The thirteen Russian ships of the fighting line aggregate 155,841 tons, against the 133,386 tons of the twelve Japanese; that the fastest Russian ship is of 22 knots, while the fastest Japanese ship is of 24.7 knots, and the slowest Russian is of 15 knots, while the slowest Japanese is of 18; that the aggregate Japanese "weight of broadside fire" is 38,140 pounds, against 30,353 for Russia. It is to be noted that the pace of the squadron is the pace of the slowest ship, as the pace of a squadron of another kind is the pace of the slowest horse. In this respect the Japanese have the advantage of homogeneity. Their ships are upon the whole more modern and more uniform.—*Review of Japanese and Russian Navies, summarized from London Times.*

**Chicago Theatre Catastrophe** Of the horror of the Chicago fire, it is not necessary to speak at length; the whole country, the world, has heard it and has expressed sympathy. Everything further that needs to be said it summed up in a single word that it was needless. There was want of precaution, want of thought, disobedience of law. Had the law been obeyed there would have been no loss of life. Six hundred young lives would have been saved. Had thought been exercised, as would have been exercised if proper fire drills had been practiced, there would have been no loss of life, for the exit doors would have been opened and the curtain dropped. The asbestos curtain itself was a sham. All that held it together burned like the tow it was, and the asbestos fell to pieces with its own weight, or blown to fragments by the blast of hot flame. Had it been let down, as it was not, it could hardly have protected the audience, for it had no strong wire-web base. It is amazing that a great theatre could be opened to the public with the ladders of the fire escapes not yet in place.—*The Independent*.

Managers will put such matter into theatres so long as the law permits them to do so with impunity. They are not men of murderous intention, yet in their recklessness or ignorance they may be almost as dangerous as an insane person with homicidal proclivities. But all the responsibility does not rest upon them. The public can defend itself, if it chooses, through the legislatures. If it can not be roused on such an occasion as this to demand the enactment and enforcement of penal laws compelling the proper chemical treatment of all stage trappings, it must take the consequences.—*New York Evening Post*.

**Current Price Comparisons**

The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates:

	Jan. 12, 1903	Dec. 15, 1903	Jan. 15, 1904
Flour, Minn. patent (bbl. 196 lbs.)..	\$ 4.10	\$ 4.85	\$ 4 80
Wheat, No. 2 (red) (bushel) . . . .	80	90½	96
Corn, No. 2 mixed (bushel).....	58½	52½	54½
Oats, No. 2 mixed (bushel).....	40½	41½	43½
Pork, mess (bbl. 200 lbs.).....	18.00	13.00	14 75
Beef, Ham (bbl. 200 lbs.).....	21.00	21.25	21 50
Coffee, Rio No. 7 (lb.).....	5½	7	8½
Sugar, Granulated, Standard (lb.)..	4 <sup>65</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	4 <sup>45</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	4 <sup>45</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Butter, creamery, extra (lb.).....	28½	25	22½
Cheese, State f. c., small fancy (lb.)	14	12	12
Cotton, middling upland (lb.).....	8 <sup>85</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	12 <sup>45</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	13 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Print Cloths (yard).....	3	3½	3½
Petroleum, N. Y., refined in bbls. (gal.)	4 <sup>85</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	9½	8½
“ bulk, N. Y., (gal.) . . .	—	6 <sup>6</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	6½

	Jan. 21, 1903	Dec. 15, 1904	Jan. 15, 1904
Hides, native steers (lb.).....	12½	10½	10½
Leather, hemlock (lb.).....	24½	23½	23½
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry, (ton 2000 lbs.).....	23.00	15 50	15.25
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry, (ton 2000 lbs.).....	22.00	13 75	14.25
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.).....	28.37½	27.65	29 37
Copper, Lake ingot. (100 lbs.).....	12.37½	12 35	13.00
Lead, domestic (100 lbs.).....	4.12½	4.25	4.50
Tinplate (100 lbs., I. C., 14x20).....	3 95	3 95	3 95
Steel rails (ton 2000 lbs.).....	28.00	28 00	28.00
Wire nails (Pittsburg) (keg 100 lbs.)	2.00	1.85	1 85
Steers, prime, Chicago (100 lbs.)...	5.75	5 45	5 43
Fine Silver (per ounce) (latest official report) . . . . .	48	.6165	.6165
Bullion value silver dollar.....	37½	.4729	.4729
Ratio gold to silver.....	1-43 <sup>6</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	1:33.80	1:33.80

The range of prices of agricultural products, as given by the government *Crop Reporter*:

	1899 Jan.	1900 Jan.	1901 Jan.	1902 Jan.	1903 Jan.	1904 Jan.
Wheat, No. 2 red, N.Y. (bush.)	.87½	.78½	.84	.94½	.84½	.98
Corn, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.38½	.31½	.37½	.64½	.48½	.42½
Corn, No. 2, N. Y. (bush.)	.45½	.42½	.48	.72½	.68½	.53
Oats, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.27½	.23	.24½	.46½	.34½	.36½
Rye, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.58½	.52	.49½	.67½	.50½	.51½
Hay, No. 1, Timothy, Chic. (ton)	9.00	11.50	14.00	13.50	13.00	11.00
Potatoes, N. Y. (180 lbs.)	1.62	2.00	1.87	2.62	2.00	2.50
Hops, choice, N. Y. (lb.)	.18	.13½	.20	.16	.37	.37
Wool, xx, washed, N.Y., (lb.)	.29	.39	.30	.27	.32	.32
" best tub washed, St. L. (lb.)	.26	.35	.29½	.24½	.29	.30½
Hogs, Chicago (100 lbs.)	4.05	4.92	5.47	6.85	7.00	5.07
Butter, creamery ex, N.Y., (lb.)	.21	.30	.25	.26	.28½	.24½
" Elgin	.20½	.29	.24½	.24½	.29	.24
Eggs, best fresh, N. Y. (doz.)	.29	.26	.27	.34	.28	.47
" " St. Louis (doz.)	.22	.17½	.18½	.26	.22½	.29
Cheese, Sept. col'd N. Y.	.10½	.13	.12	.11½	.14	.12
" Full Cream, St. Louis	.11	.12½	.11½	.11½	.14½	.11½

*Dun's Review* shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities:

	Jan. 1 1899	Jan. 1 1900	Jan. 1 1901	Jan. 1 1902	Jan. 1 1903	Jan. 1 1904
Breadstuffs.....	\$13.816	13.254	14.486	20 002	17.104	17.102
Meats.....	7 520	7.258	8.407	9.670	9.522	8.138
Dairy, garden...	11.458	13 702	15.556	15 248	14.613	15.287
Other foods....	9 096	9 200	9.504	8.952	9 418	9.653
Clothing.....	14 150	17 484	16.024	15.547	15.938	17.316
Metals.....	11.843	18 085	15.810	15.375	17.185	15.887
Miscellaneous...	12.540	16.312	15.881	16.793	16 576	16.759
Total .....	\$80.423	95.295	95.668	101.587	100.356	100.142



The average prices of sixty railway stocks, ten industrial and five city traction and gas stocks are given in *Dun's Review*:

	Dec. 31, 1901.	Dec. 12, 1902	Dec. 11, 1903.	Jan. 8, 1904.
Average, 60 railway.....	102.99	103.03	87.64	89.00
"    10 industrial .....	63.45	57.48	45.61	47.10
"    5 city traction, etc.	137.37	130.45	118.38	120.31

Prices of certain significant stocks on the New York stock exchange, as given by *Bradstreet's*:

	Range during 1903		Closing Dec. 11, 1903	Prices Jan. 8, 1904
	Highest	Lowest		
Amer. Beet Sugar (com.).....	31½	26	—	—
Amer. Beet (pref.).....	83½	73	—	—
Amer. Sugar Ref. (com.).....	134½	107½	123	125
Amer. Sugar Ref. (pref.).....	123	115	—	124
Amer. Tobacco (pref.).....	149½	130	—	—
Cont. Tobacco (pref.).....	119	94½	104½	102½
Gt. Northern Ry. (pref.).....	209	160	—	—
International Paper (pref.).....	74½	57½	63	—
N. Y. Central R. R. ....	156	112½	118	119½
Pennsylvania R. R. ....	157½	110½	116½	117½
Reading R. R. (1st pf.).....	89½	73	77	78
Southern Pacific Ry. ....	68½	38½	46½	48½
U. S. Rubber.....	19½	7	10	11½
U. S. Rubber (pref.).....	58	30½	—	42
U. S. Steel (com.).....	39½	10	10	10½
"    "    (pref.).....	89½	49½	52½	56½
Western Union Tel. ....	93	80½	87	87½

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*:

	Jan. 2, 1903	Dec. 5, 1903	Jan. 3, 1904
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	5 10 0	5 10 0	5 10 0
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2 13 4½	2 8 9	— — —
Copper	53 7 6	55 0 2½	56 12 0
Tin, Straits	120 15 0	119 5 0	132 12 6
Tin Plate (108 lbs., I. C., 14x20) ..	0 11 9	0 11 3	0 11 0
Sugar, granulated (112 lbs.).....	0 15 9	0 16 6	0 16 6
Lead, Eng. pig (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	11 1 3	11 6 3	11 6 3
Cotton, middling upland (lb.).....	0 0 4 10/16	0 0 4 ½	0 0 5 1/8
Petroleum (gallon).....	0 0 6 1/8	0 0 7½	0 0 6½

(American equivalents of English money: pound—\$4.866; shilling—24.3 cents; penny—2.03 cents.)

Spinning

## EVOLUTION OF THE COTTON INDUSTRY

THE cotton industry is the economic pioneer of modern civilization. This industry introduced machine methods of manufacture and gave the world the factory system, which revolutionized the whole method of industry and the manner of living in the western world.

Cotton was the first of all fibres to be made into fabric for human use. The weaving of cotton into cloth was so familiar to the most ancient writers that they did not consider it necessary to refer to its origin, but wherever it is mentioned, as in the earlier books of the Hebrew scriptures, and in Greek and Assyrian records, it is referred to as in a comparatively high state of development. It was familiar to Herodotos, and the author of the Book of Job said, in respect of the brevity of human life, "My days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle." Even in the most ancient days of Egypt, cotton weaving had reached a high state of perfection. The mummy-cloths in which bodies were wrapped, many centuries before the Christian era, numbers of which are still in existence, were of as fine texture as anything manufactured today. But, like much of the hand art-work of China and Japan, cotton spinning reached a high state of perfection, but made no progress in methods. It was all hand labor. The perfection was due to the development of human dexterity through ages. There was no change in the processes of manufacture. The Egyptians, and even the Greeks, spun without a wheel, the whole process being performed by the human hand, as shown in the accompanying illustration.

The process of weaving was also purely hand work. The Hindus, who were the great weavers among the ancients, had only a stationary frame for a loom, more like the process of darning stockings than modern weaving. This loom, if it could be dignified by such a name, was simply a frame in which the warp threads could be kept taut, while the woof or weft was inserted in darning-needle fashion. Indeed, so stationary were the Hindu looms, and the weaving was so absolutely a



GREEK SPINNER, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

matter of hand manipulation, that the frame was commonly made by fastening a cross-bar to two small trees, as shown in the illustration.

For twenty centuries the world's fabrics were made by these primitive, slow, and expensive methods. It is needless to say that woven garments, even of cotton, were very scarce and could be enjoyed only by the opulent, when such methods of production prevailed.

It is a peculiar fact in the progress of society that while the Romans made such great advance in politics and in jurisprudence, the Greeks in art and in culture, and the Middle Ages in astronomy and in other sciences, practically no progress was made in the methods of manufacture and in the art of getting a living. As Horace Mann well said, they could peer into the secrets of philosophy, unravel the mysteries of religion,



and trace the course of the planets, before they learned how to build a sawmill, or make a house with a chimney, or a door to swing on hinges.

As material bodies move in the line of least resistance, so economic and social progress move in the direction of economic demands. Institutions and industrial methods obey the same law. Changes in government and industrial methods come only in response to urgent demand. Improved methods of production can never come to remain unless they can be made to pay, and they are profitable only when there is a sufficient demand for the increased product of the new device. That is why highly developed machinery is possible only where there is a large general consumption of the product by the masses. Machinery is simply the harnessing of nature to the



THE HINDU WEAVER.

service of man, and nature is very democratic and will work cheaply only for the millions. An aristocracy may have rare things; it may have power and domain; but it can never have the best service of nature, because it can never furnish a sufficiently large market to make devices that substitute natural forces for human labor profitable. That is why art, science, learning, and culture could precede the invention and modern methods of doing the world's work. These callings could be supported by a small class, by an aristocracy, or even a king. Michelangelo could paint the ceilings of St. Peter's for a pope, but so long as these influences of culture development depended on the patronage of a very few, their influence upon civilization was limited to a small class. They did very little for a progress that meant freedom for the race. In other words, their influence upon progress was limited to the area for the demand for their product.

Improved devices for increasing the world's welfare could come only when the wants of the democracy furnished the market. Consequently, the practical means of making nature help mankind had to wait till the eighteenth century. It was not until the diversifying influence of the free-town and city development of the Middle Ages, the overthrow of feudalism, the development of the wage-system, the growth of social wants, and the demand for wages and consequent increased consumption of better things established a wider market demand for woven fabrics and manufactured wares, that the modern improvements that contributed to the welfare of the masses became possible. In other words, the use of natural forces in production waited centuries for the social birth of the laboring class for the advent of the masses as consumers as well as producers. For this reason, the factory system was impossible anywhere on the earth before the eighteenth century, not that there was no mind capable of making the invention, but because there was no market capable of sustaining the production.

Had the inventions that constituted the factory system appeared in the eighth, instead of the eighteenth century, they would have been useless, just as was the discovery of gun-

powder and the invention of the art of printing by the Chinese five hundred years before the Christian era. Guttenberg's invention of movable type in 1440 was more successful than the Chinese invention two thousand years earlier, only because a demand for reading had been developed. Wyclif and his bare-footed priests had taught the people to read the Bible, and this fact alone made printing by movable type possible. So the industrial emancipation of the laborers in England from serfs to wage receivers and the development of a middle or mercantile class had so increased the demand for woven fabrics and manufactured products as to make machine methods profitable. Until this social development of a comparatively large class came, invention waited; and when it came, invention came with it and revolutionized industrial methods, social habits, and political institutions of the western world.



NEW ENGLAND SPINNING WHEEL.



Down to 1738, the spinning of the world was all done by a single thread at a time. The most improved device down to that day was the spinning wheel, which is shown in the illustration.

The loom had undergone certain improvements, but it was still a mere frame in which everything was done by hand. In 1730, John Wyatt of Birmingham, England, invented a device for spinning eight threads at a time. He was too poor, however, to furnish the capital to put his machine in practical operation, and it was so very unpopular that he could get no assistance, and his machine never came into practical use. The English government granted, in 1738, to Lewis Paul, a patent for the spinning machinery supposed to have been invented by Wyatt.

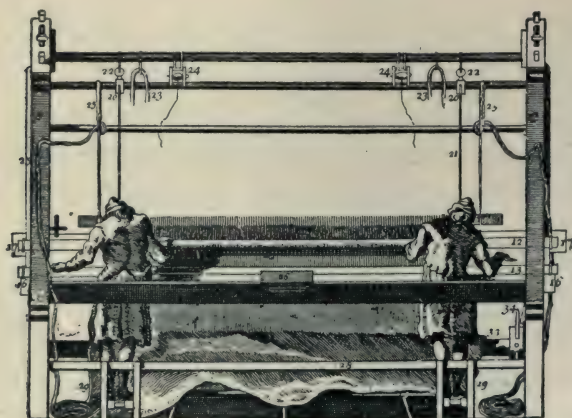
In 1767, James Hargreaves, a weaver of Blackburn, Lancashire, England, invented the spinning jenny. This also was a device for spinning a number of threads at a time, and was practically an extension of the principle of the spinning wheel, but was designed to spin weft. This was the first machine that was a practical success in spinning more than one thread at a time.

Two years later, 1769, Richard Arkwright, a barber of Preston, England, invented what was known as the spinning frame. This was practically the reproduction of Wyatt's device. Whether Arkwright had any knowledge of Wyatt's machine, and revived it, or whether this was a case of original invention, was never known. Arkwright worked so incessantly on his invention, to the neglect of his business as a barber, that his wife twice smashed his models and finally got a divorce from him. These machines were at first driven by donkeys, on the principle of the "merry-go-round", and later by the application of water power.

In 1779, Samuel Crompton, of Bolton, England, invented an improvement on the spinning jenny called the "mule". The spinning jenny was a stationary machine; the mule was a device for spinning with a machine in motion. It is a principle of the art of spinning that a twist must be given to the thread, and then it must be wound on the bobbin. The action of the

"mule" was to spin the thread when the machine is coming out and wind it when it is going in. This was for making the web.

It is said that Crompton discovered this device of having a movable machine by an experience one day when working at his invention. The people of the neighborhood were enraged over the new device, and they broke into his house with a view of smashing his machine, and they knocked it over when in motion, and he found that it continued to work when on its side; and this led him to complete the device of making it a moving machine. His model was smashed; he was driven from the locality; but he carried with him the idea of the "mule".



FRENCH LOOM, USED PRIOR TO INVENTION OF KAY SHUTTLE.

Previous to an invention by John Kay, mentioned later, the type of loom in general use throughout the cotton-manufacturing regions of Europe, as France and Flanders, required the work of two men. The French loom of this period is shown in the accompanying illustration, which may be taken as a typical loom of the age. Another illustration shows the type of loom in use in the Flemish weaving industry about 1560. Flanders was soon to become the seat of the highest prosperity of the weaving trades.

While the inventions mentioned above were rapidly developing the manufacture of cotton into cloth, a Scotchman, James Watts, of Glasgow, was studying certain phenomena which resulted in his discovering a method of applying steam to the rotary motion. He was thus able to furnish a new power for driving the new machines, and this, as much as any single factor, stimulated the development of this industry.

With these improved processes for spinning yarn, it became necessary that improvements should be made in the art of weaving. The demand, as usual, created the supply. In 1733, John Kay, a watchmaker, invented an improvement of the shuttle by which the weft is put through the warp. This device of Kay's at once reduced the working force of the loom by half, and it was then possible for a single man to work each loom.

In further improving the methods of weaving, a clergyman of Kent, named Cartwright, invented in 1785 the power loom, a loom with the Kay shuttle driven by steam. This loom is shown in an accompanying illustration. This completed the mechanism for the factory system. Thus in twenty years, from 1767 to 1786, inventions were made that revolutionized the industrial methods of the world.

It should be recorded here that three years after the invention of the power loom by Dr. Cartwright, the first cotton factory was built in the United States at Beverly.

Two other important events in the history of the cotton industry occurred in the following year, 1789. These were the first planting of the famous Sea Island cotton in the United States—a species of long fibre cotton that is grown only along a thin strip known as the "Seaboard" of the Southern States and of the adjacent islands, and the starting of cotton machinery in New York city by Samuel Slater. In 1790, Slater built the first cotton factory in Rhode Island.

Other important events in the development of this industry were: the patent for the first American loom, granted to Kirk and Leslie in 1792; the patenting of the cotton gin by Elias Whitney in 1794; the invention of the dressing machine and warp in England in 1803; the introduction of the power



loom in England in 1805; the first cotton loom built at Fall River in 1812; the introduction of the power loom into the United States at Waltham in 1815; the patenting of the first loom temple by Ira Draper in 1816; and the first cotton factory erected at Lowell in 1822.



LOOM USED IN FLANDERS ABOUT 1560.

The new factory furnished such an immense increase of products that the demand for improvements was not very urgent for a quarter of a century. With slight improvements, the Crompton "mule" continued in use until 1825, when a self-acting "mule" was invented by Roberts. This made the "mule" a practically automatic machine; that is to say, its movements were independent of hand manipulation, and ended the era of the hand spinner.

One of the most important inventions in the history of cotton spinning was that of the differential motion for roving frames, said to have been invented by Houldsworth in England in 1826, but the invention is also claimed for Aza Arnold, an American, in 1823. It is one of the most remarkable of

mechanical motions, and solved one of the extremely difficult problems in the weaving of cotton. This difficulty was the delivery of roving from the rolls of the machine in a uniform manner, in order to wind it upon a bobbin of constantly increasing diameter. This made it necessary for the speed of the spindles of flyers to be in proportion to the increasing size of the bobbin as each layer was wound upon it. The device accomplished this automatically, and tremendously improved the handling of cotton in this stage of the processes of manufacture.

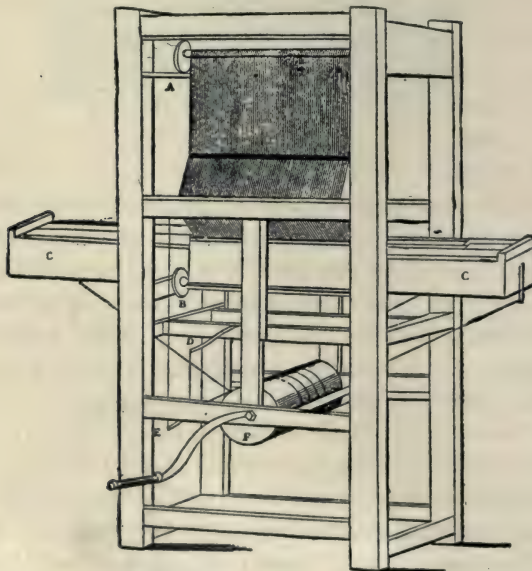
Another important invention was that of ring spinning frames, which were first built by William Mason in 1833, although the first patent on ring spinning seems to have been issued to John Thorp in 1828. The invention of ring spinning immediately revolutionized the manufacture of cotton, and the device is still used on the leading spinning machines of today.

Down to about 1834 or 1835, the loom remained in very much the crude condition in which Cartwright left it. It could be driven by steam power, but it was so imperfect in all other respects that it needed constant watching. It had no weft-fork or stop-break; that is to say, when the weft thread broke, the machine would go on as if making cloth, until the break was discovered, and then everything had to be turned back and adjusted before weaving could be resumed. The shuttle would stop in any part of the warp, and, having no frog motion to check it, would often smash a hundred threads at a time. About 1834, the weft-fork was invented. This was a device for stopping the loom when the weft-thread broke, and so as to avoid the difficulty just described. A few years later the frog motion was invented, which prevented the disastrous smashing of threads when the shuttle happened to stop in the meshes of the warp. These improvements made it possible for one man to mind three or four looms instead of one or two.

A graphic picture of the condition of cotton manufacture in 1836, just after the introduction of the weft-fork and ring spinning, is found in the Memoir of Samuel Slater, published in that year:

Little more than sixty years since, every thread used in the manufacture of cotton, wool, worsted and flax, throughout the world, was spun singly, by the fingers of the spinner, with the aid of that classical instrument, the domestic spinning wheel. In 1767, an eight-handed spinster sprung from the genius of Hargreaves; and the jenny, with still increasing power, made its way into common use, in spite of all opposition. Two years afterwards the more wonderful invention of Arkwright claimed yet higher admiration, as founded on principles of more extensive application. Five years later, the happy thought of combining the principles of these two inventions, to produce a third much more efficient than either, struck the mind of Crompton, who, by a perfectly original contrivance, effected the union. From twenty spindles, this machine was brought, by more finished mechanism, to admit of a hundred spindles, and thus to exercise a Briarean power. Kelly relinquished the toilsome method of turning the machine by hand, and yoked it to the strength of the rapid Clyde. Watt, with the subtler and more powerful agency of steam, moved an iron arm that never slackens or tires, which whirls round two thousand spindles in a single machine. Finally, to consummate wonder, Roberts dismisses the spinner, and leaves the machine to its own infallible guidance.

While most of the improved devices described up to this

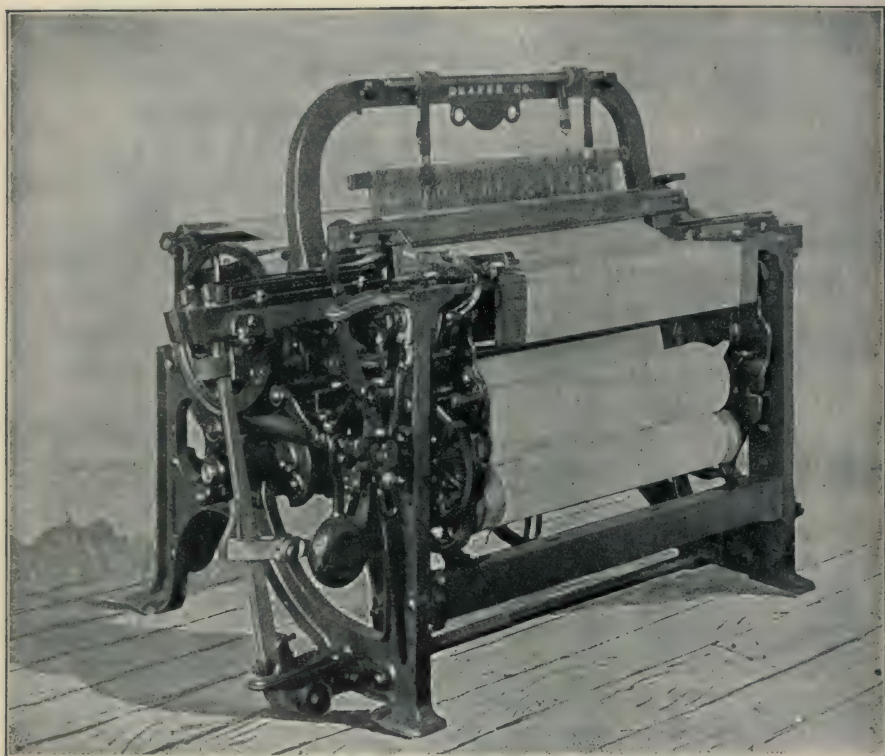


CARTWRIGHT'S FIRST POWER-LOOM.



point were invented in England, it remained for the inventive genius of the United States to give to the machinery of the cotton factory its greatest development and most marvelous perfection. According to the records, American invention has advanced cotton manufacture, since Samuel Slater's first cotton mill was started in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1790, more than the inventions of all other nations combined. While it has often admitted that the peculiar temperament of the American makes him the most inventive of men, this particular result is attributed by General William F. Draper, in his address on the "Influence of Invention on Cotton Manufacturing Industries," delivered at the World's Fair at Chicago, to the patent laws of this country, which, he thinks, are more favorable to the inventor than are those of other nations, as they more thoroughly encourage investigation, and also more thoroughly protect the results of experimentation. General Draper gives a remarkable list of the inventions by Americans that have contributed largely to the development of cotton manufacture. Among these are: the invention of the cotton gin by Whitney in 1794; self-acting loom temple, by Ira Draper, in 1816; differential motion, by Arnold, in 1823; ring spinning by Thorp, in 1828; the weft stop motion; the Sawyer spindle in 1871, and the Rabbeth spindle in 1878.

The honor of the American contribution to the development of cotton spinning belongs largely to the Draper Company, of Hopedale, Massachusetts. During the last few years, this concern has developed improvements in the methods of spinning, and especially in weaving, which are scarcely less marvelous than were the original inventions of Hargreaves, Arkwright, Crompton, and Cartwright. The improvements of the Draper loom, besides perfecting many of the established devices, furnish a device that dispenses with the necessity of stopping the loom to put in the shuttle and furnish the weft. By the invention of a new shuttle and a self-feeding magazine, they have developed a loom that, when the thread breaks or the bobbin is exhausted, will automatically pick up a new bobbin, insert it in the shuttle without stopping the loom, and thus make it possible for the loom to run continuously, it being necessary only to



PLAIN, OR NARROW, LOOM.

keep the magazine supplied with bobbins. So far, therefore, as putting in the shuttle and feeding the loom with wefts, the weaver is dispensed with. This continuous or automatic weft feeding device enabled the weaver to mind ten or a dozen looms, instead of four or six.

There still remained one disadvantage. When a thread broke in the warp, if it was not discovered, it would soon tangle up and break many other threads, and so make a defect in the cloth, which would have to be all unwoven in order to have a perfect product. The large number of looms minded by one weaver increased this disadvantage. To correct this, the Drapers have invented still another improvement by means of

which, whenever a thread breaks, the loom will instantly stop, so that none of the spoiled work, so common previously, can now occur. If the loom is running, all is well; if it is stopped, only a single thread is broken.

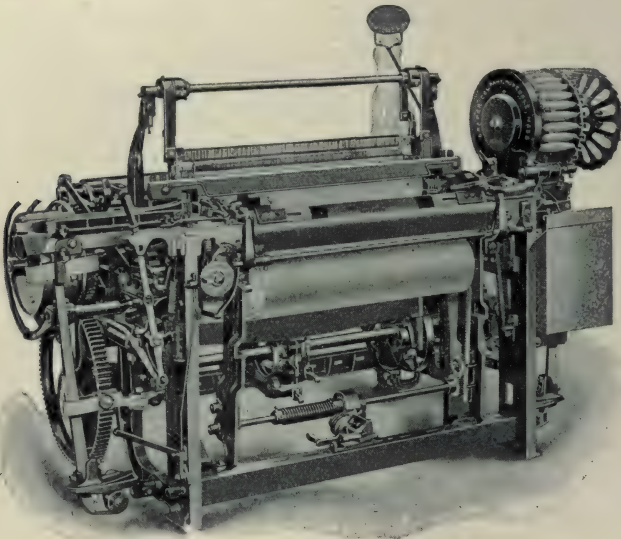
With these two improvements, the weaver can now mind from twenty to twenty-four looms, instead of one or two, as in 1830. In the new cotton mills of North and South Carolina and Georgia, as well as in New England, where the improved looms are adopted, women can be seen minding twenty-four looms, and it frequently occurs that the weavers can go to their dinner, leaving the looms running, and return finding them all in motion and in perfect order.

In the two cuts of looms given here is illustrated the tremendous development of these machines within recent years. When what is now known as the plain or narrow loom reached its high state of development some years ago, it was justly considered as creating a revolution in the cotton industry. But it was then far from perfect. Many changes have since been made, and new devices applied to it and its capacity has been wonderfully increased. The loom now used in the most progressive cotton factories of New England and the Southern states is far from complex, but, at the same time, is far more self-regulating and perfect and rapid in its execution than the old loom. The old or common loom is still to be found in some of the smaller factories throughout the country. It is shown in the accompanying illustration.

The new loom, or the most perfect loom of today, is known as the Northrop loom, which was brought to its high degree of perfection through the inventive energy and public spirit of the Draper Company of Hopedale, Massachusetts. It may be said that the improvements that have led up to the perfected Northrop loom began about 1888, when the firm of George Draper & Sons decided that, as it had covered the field of spinning improvements at that time, the wisest and most promising line in which to expend effort for continued profits must be found in improving cotton-mill machinery. In other words, the only margin for profits lay in new economies and in labor-saving devices. Attention has already been called to



the fact that the Draper family had already shown a remarkable inventive genius, Ira Draper having invented the first self-acting loom temple as far back as 1816. This invention was of such great utility that it doubled the capacity of cotton operatives at that date. The Drapers introduced all of the



THE NORTHROP LOOM.

earlier automatic laid-off motions and the first parallel shuttle motion, as well as the first practical shuttle guards, and many other minor devices.

Between the invention by Ira Draper of the self-acting loom temple in 1816, and 1888, when the Draper Company turned its attention most energetically to improving the cotton loom, a large number of devices had been invented, and the spinning and weaving of cotton had been very greatly improved. The more important of these inventions have already been referred to above. Since 1840, when an important temple improvement in the loom was patented by George Draper, most of the devices for perfecting the cotton loom have come under the control of the Draper Company. After 1888, when

the Drapers began building looms, they devoted themselves most particularly to the introduction of labor and time-saving devices, and introduced the first practical filling-changer and warp-stop motion. They also re-formed the plain loom by building the first one-hand loom, and further perfected it by a number of other important devices. These improvements come generally under two heads—the filling-changing mechanism, and the warp-stopping device. The first of these very largely increases the productiveness of the operative, and the combination of the two doubles the advantage obtained by the use of the two separately. A good weaver, on the old, plain, narrow loom, has a capacity of eight looms; while on the Northrop loom he has a capacity of twenty-four. This illustrates the tremendous improvement of the Northrop loom over the old-style mechanism. In fact, this company claims nearly all of the really vital changes made in the improvement of the loom during the last thirty years. It was estimated some time ago that, by the spinning frame alone, changes had been introduced in cotton manufacture that had resulted in a profit of \$50,000,000 to cloth producers and consumers in this country; and it is estimated that up to the present time the increased profits, by reason of the changes made in the spinning frame by the Draper Company, amount to \$125,000,000. The perfected Northrop loom, it is expected, will produce even greater results.

The Northrop loom, by increasing the capacity of the operative 300 per cent., has brought the manufacture of cotton up to a point that is considered practically perfect. In its most highly developed form this loom now enables one man to do the work of a thousand men at the beginning of the cotton industry, working by hand. The accompanying illustration shows the Northrop loom in its present state of development.

The development of the cotton industry, both from an agricultural and manufacturing point of view, is one of the most marvelous phenomena in the industrial history of this country. The cotton plant, while grown principally in the United States, also flourishes in India, China, in the southern

portion of Asiatic Russia, Egypt, Brazil, Perú, and other portions of the tropics. The long staple cottons are the Sea Island and Egyptian, and the shorter staples are the varieties grown in China and India, which are very short; and the kind which makes up the bulk of the crop of the Southern states is an intermediate staple, although generally known as short staple cotton.

In 1788, the cotton crop of the United States was 2,000 bales—the bale always being figured in statistics at 450 pounds net weight—and the average price obtained was 14.5 cents. By the end of the century, 1799-1800, the crop had risen to 77,000 bales, and the price was 28 cents, although it had been as high as 44 cents the year before. In 1801, the first year of the nineteenth century, the crop was 120,000 bales, and the price 19 cents. The crop did not get to the million point until 1834, when 1,023,000 bales were raised, and the price was 17.45 cents. It had reached 2,000,000 in 1842, and 3,000,000 in 1852. In 1859-60, it was 4,980,000 and the price was 12.08 cents. After this, it fluctuated and went as low as 318,000 bales in 1864-65, when the highest price ever paid for cotton obtained—101.50 cents.

After the Civil War, the crop increased very rapidly, and by 1880 it had reached 6,700,000 bales, and the price was 12.02 cents. In 1890, it jumped from 7,000,000 to 9,000,000 bales, and the price was 11.53 cents. In 1894, the crop reached 10,533,000 bales, and the price fell to 7.67 cents. In 1898-99 was produced the remarkable crop of 12,156,000 bales, and the price went down to 6.22 cents. The following year, when only 10,000,000 bales were raised, the price was 6 cents, the lowest yet obtained in the markets of this country.

The development of the cotton manufacturing industry is even more remarkable than that of the raising of the staple. In 1805, there were in this country only 4,500 spindles, and in 1810 there were 87,000. The growth of the business was very rapid after that year, and in 1815 there were 130,000 spindles, while in 1820 there were 220,000. Seven years later there were 705,000. In 1831, the number of spindles had increased to 1,246,703; the capital invested was \$40,612,894, and the value



of the product was \$32,000,000. In 1860, just prior to the war, the number of spindles had increased to 5,235,727, the capital to \$98,585,269, and the value of the product to \$115,681,774. In spite of the intervening period of war and disturbance, in 1870 the spindles had increased to 7,132,415, the capital invested to \$141,000,000, and the value of product to \$177,000,000. By 1890, the capital invested had more than doubled, and amounted to \$354,000,000, the value of product to \$268,000,000, and the number of spindles was 14,400,000. In 1900, the last year for which definite figures are obtainable, the number of spindles was 20,000,000, the capital invested was \$460,842,772, and the value of product was \$332,806,156. It is estimated that there are now, at the beginning of 1904, at least 23,000,000 spindles in operation in this country, and the capital invested is \$500,000,000. The value of the product would probably be something near \$350,000,000.

It is interesting to compare the magnitude of the cotton industry in this country with that of other countries. Great Britain alone exceeds us, having probably two spindles to our one, or some 46,000,000 to our 23,000,000. Germany comes third, with 8,000,000; Russia fourth, with 7,500,000; France next, with 5,500,000; India next, with 5,000,000, and Austria, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, and Japan, following in this order, the last country having 1,500,000 spindles.

The cotton mills of the country are still principally found in New England and the southeastern Southern states. The growth of the industry is now, however, very much more rapid in the Southern states than in any other portion of the country, although New England still leads by a very wide margin. The New England mills also have the advantage of much larger plants, which more than overcome the advantage of cheap labor possessed by the Southern mills. In New England the average number of spindles to the mill is nearly 27,000, while in the South the average is only 6,500.

There is no doubt that the South, as it possesses a monopoly of the cotton crop, has great advantage over New England, which, many think, will inevitably shift the cotton industry to that section. This, however, seems by no means

certain, as the East still has the advantage of a longer experience in the business, has a larger supply of skilled labor, better machinery, a closer proximity to machinery supplies, and the incontestable advantage of making a superior product. The South, up to a few years ago, devoted itself almost exclusively to the manufacture of coarse goods. This is no longer true, and some of the better Southern mills are now producing fine product, and are so becoming a sharper and sharper competitor of the Northern mills. It is probable that as the New England mills become able to force out of certain markets their British competitors, in supplying the finer and higher grades of goods, the Southern mills will gradually improve the quality of their product and so fill up the gap as the Northern fabrics are made finer in grade.

It has now reached the point in this industry that, in order to maintain their present advantage, the New England mills will have to use only the highest grades of machinery, and by larger plants, better equipment, and more skilled labor, excel the Southern mills. If they do not do this, they will be compelled either to reduce wages or be driven from the field. They can not otherwise meet Southern competition. There is, of course, no excuse for the reduction of wages, so long as the necessary economies can be gained by adopting improved methods.

The single illustration of the advantage of the use of improved machinery has already been referred to in connection with the Northrop loom. Of course, all mills have the opportunity of adopting this loom or any other improved machinery, but it could be adopted at once in the extensive plants of New England, whereas in the smaller mills of the South, where the investments are limited, the manufacturers will depend for many years to come upon the natural advantages they possess in their nearness to the cotton fields and the cheapness of native labor. It is inevitable, therefore, that if New England mills wish to maintain their superiority, they will be obliged to resort to the very best machinery that has been devised for the manufacture of cotton.





### TIMEO DANAOS

(Beginning of the famous saying "Timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes"—I fear the Greeks, even when they bring gifts. The reference is to the conduct of the United States with respect to Panamá and Colombia.)

Art proud, my country, that these mighty ones,  
Wearing the jeweled splendor of old days,  
Come bringing prodigality of praise  
To thee amid thy light of westering suns;  
Bidding their blaring trumpets and their guns  
Salute thee, late into their crooked ways  
Now fallen, to their sorrow and amaze,  
Blood of whose hearts the ancient honor runs?

Nay, fear them rather, for they cry with glee,  
"She has become as one of us, who gave  
All that she had to set a people free:  
She wears our image—she that loved the slave!"  
Fear them, for there is blood upon their hands  
And on their heads the curse of ruined lands.

—*Joseph O'Connor, in the Rochester  
Post-Express.*

# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## CHANGES IN POLITICAL OPINION

NOTHING is truer of the human race than that it thinks through its interests. People of different countries, and of different sections of the same country, often differ very radically upon important questions ; but, upon investigation, it will always be found that this difference arises from the difference in their economic interests. Sometimes these interests are misinterpreted ; but the political opinions are born of the industrial interests of the different groups of people according as they see or interpret their interests.

The Civil War in this country was the result of the interpretations of economic interests by the South. The point of view of an important industrial problem was entirely unlike that of the North, and, right or wrong, its opinion was formed according to that point of view. The political sentiment and political action of the South, even to the point of going to war, were governed by that interpretation.

The same is true of every section of the country today. Where the industrial development takes on new phases and creates either real or imagined economic interests, a new point of view arises. It may be, and indeed often is, political prejudice ; but it is a mental process that controls political sentiment and political action.

In the East, during the last twenty years, there has grown up a new set of industrial conditions. The old and smaller methods of production have been superseded by entirely new systems of organization and mechanical devices. Large corporations have taken the place of small firms, and, in certain lines of industry, the business is reduced almost to an automatic system that covers the greater part of a given field of industry. This has changed the point of view of capitalists and enterprises ; their whole method of procedure is different ; they act by system rather than by personal contract, and things are done

so much *en masse* instead of in detail, that how to integrate one's self with the sweeping momentum of the automatic system is becoming more and more a vital question. This change has naturally created some consternation and, with it, suspicion and doubt of these great concerns on the part of people of moderate means.

This new experience has started a new current of economic thinking. This mental state is hostility to these new forms of industrial activity. There is nothing particularly new in this. Whenever progress takes place at all, these phenomena are inevitable. To have progress, there must be change, and the change brings about these new relations and readjustments and consequent new points of view and new ideas. These fresh conditions inevitably lead to changed political opinions. It never was otherwise, and may naturally be expected; nevertheless, each stage of progress should give a broader and more rational interpretation of the new.

It is peculiar that the political opinion created by these changing industrial phenomena is always hostile to the new institutions. It is also true that the hostility never prevented the new from coming and eventually being accepted, and it never failed, within a reasonable time, to prove that opposition was an error. The fact is, that, with every generation where progress has been made, the people look back upon their attitude toward the new institutions as obvious folly. Those who resisted the printing press and the introduction of the spinning jenny and the power loom, and resisted by all moral (and sometimes physical) force at their command the introduction of each new device, are now regarded in the light of fools, and are excused only on account of their ignorance. The mobs that drove Arkwright and Crompton from their homes because they invented new spinning frames can be regarded only as mistaken simpletons, their one redeeming feature being that they were sincere.

The same has been true with reference to most new opinions. Each age has had its innovations in opinion, and those who held them were subjected to persecution. But no approval can be given to those who resisted the new opinions and



persecuted the men that held them. They were exactly on a par with those who smashed the power looms. Those who murdered and persecuted people for their religious opinions can no longer command our respect. The best we can do is to extend our sympathy and excuse their conduct on the score of ignorance.

All this is going on today just as it always has where progress takes place. We do not persecute for religious opinions any more, and we do not put people in jail for political opinions; but we exercise the same antagonistic spirit toward the new that the inquisitors did toward the heretics. This explains the striking difference that is observed between the political opinion in the East and that in the West. In politics, as in religion and ethics, opinion is very largely a matter of the point of view, and the point of view is chiefly determined by the immediate interests. This industrial movement referred to has made the laborers more and more a part of the great productive system, and less and less managers of industry. They get more pay for what they do; they work under better conditions; the working day is shorter; they have much more personal freedom; they have much more to say about their contracts, and have far greater authority through their organizations. But despite all this, the growing impersonality of the management has so changed the conditions that the laborers feel that they are more helpless to control their own interests, and they have a growing dislike and fear of, and often defend antagonism to, the new order of things. The result is that their political thinking is from the point of view that they are injured, and that the new order is oppressive; that, somehow or other, they are losing by the change, although they seem to be gaining. They know they get more pay and live under better conditions, and have more influence upon their conditions; yet, the fact remains that they think from the point of view that they are being injured, because others are getting rich faster than they are. The result is that the political opinions of the working men in this country are gradually being formulated against the employing class—not for any definite reasons as against specific employers, but from the general point of

view of their interests as compared with those of employers in general.

What is true of the laborers in the East is true of almost the entire population in the West. They are not so preponderantly wage-workers, and they are not in the sweep of the new movement. The farmer, the cattle-raiser, the hotel man, the dentist, the doctor, the banker, and the lawyer, will all join in the notion that the great industrial momentum, of which they are not perceptibly an active part, is against them. This leads to an opinion of political antagonism. They think the law, which they have power to make, should be used against this movement, just as the hand-weavers thought that their clubs should be used against the new machines. Of course, the farmers and cattle-men, who are often money-borrowers, have this same feeling toward the bankers in their own locality. Banks are financial organizations that exist for the purpose of making a profit out of loaned money, just as cattle-men and farmers follow their occupations with the view of making profits out of raising cattle and crops; but when the banker charges high interest or hesitates about making his loan for reasons of safety or profit, he is denounced as a part of this oppressive system; and the railroads, which are built and conducted to make a profit out of transportation of the people and products of the country, are treated with the same suspicion and distrust by the farmers, shippers, and others. It is a peculiar fact that each group suspects and distrusts the other; but in the general "round up," the bankers and farmers, lawyers and cattlemen, dentists and land agents, will all join in denouncing the industrial movements in the East—large movements of which they are not a conscious part and which they insist upon thinking are an organized crusade against their rights and interests and welfare. This feeling and quasi-political opinion is so strong that if a person ventures to hold the opinion that large corporations are just as good for the country in their way as large ranches, farms, or successful banks, he is at once suspected of being an agent of Eastern capitalists and a proper subject for suspicion, if not for ostracism.

We are in the habit of speaking of the people of the West

as being broad and liberal. This is an error. They are somewhat narrow and suspicious. They are generous, hospitable, good neighbors, and, on the whole, good citizens; but, politically and economically they are narrow nearly to the point of persecution. This is not because they are mean. On the contrary, they are the most whole-souled people in the country. It is because they are thinking through their interests, and their interests are simple and not very diversified. This explains why the political opinion of the West is really hostile to the industrial interests of the East. This used to be especially true of the South—what was known as the sectional feeling between the North and South, as the result of the war and the economic conditions connected with it; but today the sectional feeling is more between the West and East than it is between the South and the North.

It is the ambition of every person in the West to go to New York, and yet the bane of his political thinking is that New York is the enemy of the country. That is why Mr. Roosevelt is so popular in the West. It is not because the Western people think him wise or judicious, or representing superior statesmanship, or having dignity befitting the office; but it is because he has breezy manners, verging on rudeness, and is hostile to the great industrial interests of the East. They love him for the enemies he has made. If he should disrupt a few of the great railroad systems by a forced interpretation of the Sherman Act, as under the Merger Case; and harass the Steel Trust, putting it into the hands of a receiver; and make investors so afraid of him that they would withdraw from business, even though it should paralyze the country—he would find very marked approval through the West. This would be regarded as protecting the interests of the people; whereas it would really be destroying the opportunities of public welfare.

This is an unfortunate state of affairs for a country like this, where political opinion exercises such a great influence over the public policy of the administration. Unfortunately, it has a double effect; besides influencing the political opinion of the people into narrow grooves, that very opinion has a tendency to act upon the conduct of those seeking political



favors. The "playing to the galleries," so painfully conspicuous during the last eighteen months, is simply catering to this political prejudice against the most highly organized industrial interests of the country. The political opinion born of this prejudice is encouraged and flattered because it represents votes, and thus helps to make our public men shallow politicians instead of dignified statesmen. It is useless to scold about this. Politicians will cater to the prejudice that has votes; they will "play to the galleries," for the galleries represent the majority; and the galleries will think through the narrow groove of their simple interests, unless something is done to broaden their industrial and political horizon. There is nothing specially abnormal about it; it is the natural consequence of our industrial and political conditions.

All this is more characteristic of the United States than of any other country, because we have made more rapid progress than any other country, and, therefore, have more new conditions that tend to create this industrial and social prejudice. No such thing would occur in countries where progress is imperceptible, as in China, Russia, Korea, or Turkey. In those countries, the opinion of the great mass remains substantially uniform and is, for the most part, a general approval of existing institutions. There is some tendency to this state of things in England, because there is some progress; but even in England the progress has been sufficiently slow for public opinion to keep up. In this country, however, the progress and innovations are so frequent and rapid and colossal that public opinion lags behind, and tends to form into social and economic prejudice rather than intelligent, progressive opinion. There is one of two remedies for this. One is to make progress more slowly, and the other is to extend industrial and political education more rapidly.

Of course all the evils of progress can be remedied by stopping progress. As the Honorable Charles S. Fairchild recently remarked to persons who were presenting to him the evils of the trust question, "the effective way to suppress trusts is to prohibit by law the use of steam in all methods of production and transportation." Barbarism can stop the disease by killing

the patient ; but civilization should cure the disease and save the patient. One or the other of these alternatives will sooner or later be forced upon us. We must broaden our industrial and political education, or our progress will be arrested whether we will or not. The very industrial prejudice and perverse political opinion will themselves cause a halt in our progress. Industrial development can not continue under the ban of public opinion and the constant threatening menace of adverse legislation and administrative policy. Enterprise can not sustain the constant nagging of political authority.

There are a great many avenues in this country for educating public opinion on this important question, but today they are very largely used to contribute to the prejudice rather than to the enlightenment of public opinion. With a few exceptions, the great newspapers and all the small ones are vehicles for proclaiming the prejudice of the masses against the successful business enterprises of the country. Railroads, large corporations, banks, local as well as interstate enterprises, are all treated as if they were directed against the public weal, and the more successful they are, the more they are suspected, disliked, and threatened. As already remarked, it is not surprising that there should be a tendency in this direction among the masses ; but this prejudice is stimulated, fostered, enlarged upon, and even reduced to a deliberate theory, by a large number of newspapers and magazine writers, public speakers, and nearly all politicians. Even the President himself, and the responsible officers of the national administration, minister to this popular prejudice, and all because it represents votes. It is quite clear that the political newspapers and merely commercial publications can not be relied upon for doing wholesome, corrective, educational work in this field. For the most part, they live upon these prejudices and would not correct them for fear of losing subscribers or advertizers.

If this country is to avoid arrest of its progress, educational work will have to be done, and done on a large, persistent scale. There is no patent way of doing this ; it is simply a matter of honest, reasonable, intelligible discussion of the economic, social and political aspects of public questions in such a way as

to reach the great mass of the American people, without a tag or a trademark. This can be done by honest, straightforward literature; not long tedious books, nor political partizan papers, but by clear, brief, intelligible discussion in short, readable pamphlets. Harvey's "Coin's Financial School" did more to affect the public mind in this country in favor of free silver than all the editorial and other forces put together, because it was a statement of the subject in an attractive form, the point of which could be easily grasped by the ordinary reader. The opinion created by this literature nearly nominated Bryan, and, although most obvious and stubborn facts of experience in great abundance have contradicted the whole theory, it still has a great hold on the popular mind. If the work of sound economic education should be undertaken with the same energy and ability that were applied to both the propaganda and correction of the free silver doctrine, we would soon have a sound, wholesome, patriotic public opinion in this country—a public opinion before which mere stage play and appeal to prejudice would utterly fail to get votes or create political popularity.

Nothing could more clearly demonstrate the dangers of our present poisoned public opinion than the candidacy for president of William R. Hearst, the worst debaucher of journalism and polluter of public sentiment in the United States. Here is a man who is spending his millions in publishing newspapers, whose chief work is to debauch public opinion and stimulate the prejudice of the masses against the industrial and political institutions of the country. And this man has the audacity to be a candidate for the presidential nomination, and, what is worse, he appears to have the backing of Mr. Bryan. The mere fact that such a man could, through such means, seriously think of aspiring to such a position, shows the need of a vigorous campaign of economic and political education. If education does not come, "Hearstism" will come, and the arrest of our industrial development and national advance will be inevitable.



## THE STORY OF AMERICAN SHIPPING

THE AMERICAN people have been so busily engaged with reaping the fruits of their own tremendous prosperity, and so closely occupied with domestic interests, that they have not, heretofore, paid very much attention to the great highway of the oceans upon which their surplus products must find a way to foreign markets, and over which they must bring such foreign products as they need or desire for their own consumption. But this period is passing, if it be not already passed. The American people must pay attention to the great oceans that both divide them from, and unite them with, the peoples of the rest of the world.

What stake have we in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans? Our interest in the ocean highways is as great as, if not greater than, that of any other nation. We lead in exports, and this lead will be increasingly advanced; yet, up to this time, the foreigner has carried our products on the ocean, or brought to us such articles as we have purchased abroad. But the question has grown to such great magnitude and importance, and has now reached such a critical stage, that it must be answered, and we must finally decide whether we shall do our own seafaring business or let the foreigners continue to do it for us. It may prove that the present arrangement is more economic, but whether it is or not, an answer must inevitably be given to the question.

The following statement gives, from an impartial point of view, a brief history of American shipping, and also shows its present condition and its prospects. It is of such great interest that we publish it in full:

There are, all told, 24,425 vessels of an aggregate tonnage of 6,087,000 in the merchant marine of the United States.

This looks like an impressive total—and so it is, until it is analyzed. Then the American citizen is astonished and

chagrined to find how weak his great country actually is upon the ocean.

The American fleet, excluding the whale and fishery tonnage, consists of two chief divisions:

Tonnage registered for foreign trade..... 879,000

Tonnage enrolled or licensed for domestic trade..5,141,000

That is, more than five-sixths of the merchant shipping of the United States is now engaged in lake or river or coast-wise service. It was not always thus. Forty years and more ago, our American merchant fleet, in 1861, was almost equally divided, as follows:

Tonnage registered for foreign trade.....2,496,000

Tonnage enrolled or licensed for domestic trade..2,704,000

This domestic tonnage has almost doubled since 1861, in spite of the immense growth of American railroads, while the deep-sea tonnage, owing in part, but not wholly, to the Civil War, has, two-thirds of it, vanished from the ocean.

Under normal conditions the deep-sea tonnage of the United States ought to have expanded since the Civil War in harmony with the increase of our foreign commerce. If it had continued to grow, as it was growing, and as our domestic tonnage has grown, instead of a merchant marine of 6,087,000 tons we should now have a merchant marine of 15,000,000 tons, about equal to that of the United Kingdom.

It is significant that the decline of our merchant shipping has been entirely in that part of it which is exposed to cheap-wage, often subsidized, foreign competition, and is unprotected by the government. Laws as old as the nation, framed by Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and their successors, exclude foreign vessels from the coast trade, the lake trade and the river trade of the United States, and reserve absolutely to American vessels the carrying of freight and passengers from one American port to another.

This is the rigidly protective policy under which our coast-wise tonnage has grown to five times the domestic tonnage of Great Britain. This is the policy under which the American tonnage on our Northern lakes has increased from 613,000 in 1876 to 1,902,000 in 1903.

But while the coast, lake, and river shipping has been thus protected, and has prospered as has no like tonnage in the world, the American fleet registered for ocean carrying, from an American to a foreign port, has had none of the consistent protection which has been bestowed upon other industries. Instead of doubling, as the protected coastwise tonnage has doubled, this ocean fleet has actually fallen off to about one-third of the total of 1861. This has not been from any lack of trade to carry, for since 1861 our exports and imports have increased fourfold in volume. In 1861, American ships conveyed 65 per cent. of our overseas commerce; in 1903, only 9.1 per cent.

This decrease of our ocean tonnage has gone on steadily, with no apparent reference to tariff policies or changing administrations. In 1865, when the Civil War ended, we had 1,518,000 tons of shipping registered for foreign trade. In 1873, we had 1,378,000 tons; in 1883, 1,269,000 tons; in 1893, 883,000 tons; in 1903, 879,000 tons.

It has been said that American shipping registered for ocean trade has not for many years been protected by the government. This is true of the industry as a whole, but there is need of some qualification as to a part of it. In March, 1891, congress enacted a postal aid law, offering moderate subsidies on rather severe terms to American steamships carrying United States mails to foreign countries. This protection, of course, was limited in its application. It could not be applied to sail vessels or to ordinary cargo steamships. Moreover, the law as the senate passed it was cut down one-third in the rate of the subsidies by the action of the House.

But this measure has been availed of by half a dozen excellent lines of American steamers—one to Great Britain, one to Cuba and Mexico, one to Jamaica, one to Venezuela, and one to Australia, while under other laws mail compensation is paid to an American line to the Isthmus of Panamá and across the Pacific to Japan and China. These mail payments, amounting to \$1,400,000 a year, or less than the British government gives to one British line, the Peninsula & Oriental, have enabled the American steamship companies to renew their fleets



and improve their service, and have saved to the United States a small but fine, staunch and efficient nucleus of a modern naval reserve.

Besides these mail steamships, there are a few, a very few, American cargo steamships in the ocean trade, several scores of square-rigged sail vessels, and a number of schooners. These various classes make up the present registered American ocean tonnage of 879,000, which is sufficient to convey only 9.1 per cent. of our imports and exports. The remainder of our ocean commerce is carried by the ships and seamen of Great Britain, Germany, France, Norway, Italy, etc.

For this service, which used to be performed chiefly by our own ships and seamen, and could be performed by them again, were there adequate protection, we are paying, to build up the sea power of Europe, from one hundred to two hundred million dollars a year.

## SENATOR HANNA ON LABOR UNIONS AND SOCIALISM

SENATOR HANNA, in an admirable and well-reasoned article in the *National Magazine* for February, gives the results of his observation upon the tendency and danger of socialism as it relates to labor unions in this country.

Mr. Hanna has had unusual opportunities for observation. He is one of the largest employers in this country, and he has utilized his opportunities for studying social and labor conditions to such good purpose that he has found it quite possible to live in complete harmony with his employes, so that both employer and employed profit by their mutual relations. Besides, Senator Hanna has long interested himself in the important problems of labor, and particularly in those acute phases which have resulted in strikes, lockouts, and disagreements that have caused so much disturbance and loss. His connection, also, with the Civic Federation, has given him excellent facilities for the study of this question at close range, both from the inside and from the outside. The results of this long experience and study are presented in this excellent article, from which we quote liberally as follows:

Although I came upon the political field rather late in life, I was deeply impressed by the wonderful manner in which the people of this country can be made to understand a direct, logical proposition. The campaign of 1896 was to them an education, and brought home the belief that human nature is pretty much the same all the world over; that the fundamental basis of right success, as it appears to me, is fairness and justice, and that the simpler the proposition can be made the more effective is it going to be with the people at large. . . .

There is no more engrossing question than that of the relation between labor and capital, which seems the paramount issue today. In the dawn of a new century, looking back over our history, we are almost bewildered by the great and wonder-

ful progress of the country ; and no matter how we may demur against the changes that are thrusting themselves upon us, we must, sooner or later, grapple with the question—the serious problem—of the adjustment of these matters, instead of trying to turn back to conditions that have passed. Is it not better courageously and manfully to face the proposition of the future, and make a united effort to settle it? . . . My attention was called to these things after the great strike in the coal mines of Ohio, in which I was indirectly interested, and it was then that I concluded that the first thing to be done was to adjust conditions in a straightforward manner.

It must never be forgotten that organized labor is an older institution than organized capital. The instinct of workingmen to band together to protect themselves is no more to be wondered at than the same instinct when shown on the part of capital. Now, my plan is to have organized union labor Americanized in the best sense and thoroughly educated to an understanding of its responsibilities, and in this way to make it the ally of the capitalist, rather than a foe with which to grapple.

It is often asked what is to become of the non-organized consumer if an amicable alliance is made between labor and capital. But there is no such middle group as this question implies. There is no other group than that of either labor or capital : every man belongs either to the one or the other, when you stop to think of it ; for that matter, he is likely to belong to both.

The systematic work of education was begun during the past five years by the Civic Federation. I took some time to consider the work of the Federation, and am firmly convinced that it is the object to which I desire to consecrate the remaining years of my life. I fully appreciate that it is a long struggle, but the progress already made under the motto of the Civic Federation—the Golden Rule—has surpassed even my most sanguine expectations ; and I am sure that the American people will sustain a policy, based upon the highest moral and social impulse, which will eliminate the passionate prejudices that now exist between capital and labor.



We oppose the sympathetic strike, and this view was most heroically endorsed by the action of the Mine Workers' Association at Indianapolis during the great coal-mine strike in Pennsylvania. We oppose also the boycott. We disapprove of the restriction of production to enhance values, and all these beliefs are being gradually adopted, not only by union labor, but by cool-headed and far-seeing representatives of capital. The decayed code of principles and policy that has no true harmony with the spirit of the age—which is *Business*—is passing away. It is so easy on the floor of a convention for one or two inflammatory speakers to set on fire the passions of their hearers, whereas the mature deliberations of the committee will hold in check such feelings as might be otherwise fanned into revolution. . . . Many of the ills that have crept into labor organizations are importations from older countries, and will not live here because they are not fitted to our conditions. While labor unions may have been a curse to England, I believe that they will prove a boon to our own country, when a proper basis of confidence and respect is established. . . .

All strikes do not originate in a demand for higher wages. There are other grievances. With the great army of employees necessary to our industrial institutions it is quite impossible for each individual to receive such close consideration at the hands of his employer as in earlier days might have been accorded, and it is to meet this condition that we have to adopt the propositions of union labor, and press forward the campaign of education, which means reason on both sides, though it is too much to expect altogether to change the great current of selfishness on both sides. If there are enough people actuated by the right motives, it can be done in a great measure, and a feeling of fellowship established that will obviate to a large extent the disastrous effects of the strike. . . .

The menace of today, as I view it, is the spread of a spirit of socialism, one of those things which are only half understood, and is more or less used to inflame the popular mind against all individual initiative and personal energy, which has been the very essence of American progress. While this spirit of socialism has caused apprehension in some quarters,

it has been joyfully received by a certain class of people, who do not desire to acquire competence in the ordinary and honest manner, and gladly seize any excuse for agitating the public mind on the chance of putting money in their own pockets; the men who are described as having "no stake in the country."

My own impression is confirmed by information from laboring men that socialism in the European sense of the word will never find a firm footing in America. There is a spirit of co-operation or community of interests which some people may confound with socialism that is making headway with us; but when any one attempts, for political or financial reasons, to advocate the whole programme of European socialism, he will find little prospect of the seed's taking root in American soil.

This, I think, was demonstrated very conclusively in the Ohio campaign, where higher socialism was brought forth as an issue. When the people understand this subject in its fullest sense, and some of the mysteries and the fascinating glamour connected with the mysterious that now shrouds the subject are torn away, and it is seen plainly, it will be found to be repellant to American ideas of integrity and honesty.

The old law of compensation is as operative now as ever. No "ism" is wanted by the American people that will take from any citizen the just and equitable reward of his labor.

I believe a single, vigorous campaign of agitation would quickly show what support these doctrines may expect from the American people, as has been proven over and over along these lines. As a general rule, the American people are pretty level-headed.

Now, I do not mean that those who have taken up socialism should be roundly scored and abused, for a great many of these are honest and sincere in their belief, which belief arises from not really understanding the matter, having been misled by misrepresentation. It is usually said that there are only two sides to a question, but in this matter there are two sides and two ends, and by the time our socialist has surveyed the two sides and the big end and the little one, he will not find that socialism is going to benefit him much in America.

It seems to me more reasonable to take up the difficulties

of labor and capital case by case, and situation after situation, as they come up, and try to adjust them in a manner at once permanent and peaceful. In this way the inherent rights of the individual will be better served than by an attempt to demolish a system of government which is so well suited to the needs of the American people, and which has so well withstood the attacks of the dreamer and the agitator in the years that are past.

The American labor unions are becoming more and more conservative and careful in their management, and are not likely to be led away from the straight road by hot-headed members.

Business men, too, have found that fighting does not pay in trade. There is an old saying that the best lawyer is he who keeps his client out of law-suits, and the best leader is he who can avoid difficulties; but the greater experience and intelligence which necessarily exist among employers, owing to the fact of their longer training in the forum of business, place upon them an important responsibility.



## THE MANUFACTURE OF "PUBLIC OPINION"

ONE OF THE MOST difficult of all inquiries is that which seeks to arrive at public opinion. Of "public opinion," so-called—generally false views hastily formed and hastily uttered, in speech or by the press; of groundless prejudice, or ephemeral irritation—there is always an abundant supply. It is to be seen in the sheets of the daily newspapers, in the magazines, and even upon the soberer pages of histories, whether written to meet some urgent "commercial" demand, or with a view to permanent record. But real public opinion is generally to be discovered in the slow development of a people, rather than in any public or semi-public utterances, whether these utterances come from the press, or from government organs, or are found in state documents, or in histories.

Where, for instance, shall one search, at any given time, for public opinion? We should soon be discouraged, if we re-read history written a few years ago, to find how much recent developments and soberer thought have changed the entire aspect of things. We should soon see that, when it was written, history did not reflect the true sentiment of the day, but the distortion or discoloration of it. With the press it is even worse, because the press must speak hastily and without reflection. It must form its opinions as rapidly as events occur, and without any possibility of a readjustment of the point of view, or of correcting first inferences, which are too often false or biased. Is it possible for any one to speak with confidence today as to the true feeling of the people of the United States upon any one or a dozen important questions: such, for instance, as the conquest of the Philippines, our tortuous course in connection with the independence of Cuba, the action of the United States government against combinations of capital, or the precipitate course of our administration in guaranteeing the success of a revolution two days before it occurred in Panamá?

We venture to assert that, on any of these questions, no one can confidently say what is real public opinion. And yet, the administration pretends to have no doubts or misgivings

on the subject. The press, whether daily, weekly, or monthly, arrogantly assumes, from the point of view of its several editors or proprietors, that it has its finger on the pulse of the populace, and knows exactly what it thought yesterday, what it thinks today, and will think tomorrow. The mere fact that there are so many contrary currents of so-called "public opinion" upon these subjects, shows that no one pilot can tell us what the great American people really thinks and feels upon them.

The daily press is the most persistent claimant of the honor of being not only the repository of public opinion but the creator of it. According to its own pretention, it is able to define exactly what the American people think and feel, and also to influence the public mind to such an extent that it will create a body of sentiment or "public opinion" that will be irresistible in dealing with any question of the day. The other claimants of this special knowledge of public opinion are the administration at Washington and the political parties. The claim of the political party may, of course, be disposed of by the reminder that all it can do is to express the policy of a bare majority, or perhaps of a minority of the people; and even in the case of a large majority this policy is the policy of a handful that controls the decision of the party. Nothing is more certain than that political policy rarely attains to the dignity of public opinion; it is either in advance of or hopelessly behind the march of the great popular mind. The administration, of course, assumes popular opinion from the advice and information it receives from the political party behind it, and its diagnosis of popular sentiment can not be more accurate than that of its political advisers and supporters, and it is oftener in error than is the daily press. This was made distressingly evident recently, when Mr. Roosevelt thought that the people of the United States would sustain his audacious assault upon the liberties and rights of Colombia.

The press has certainly a great influence upon popular sentiment, which it chooses to call "public opinion." This influence is generally evil, because it is generally used for some ulterior or even base motive. It can stir up prejudice and

passion, which may bring about some domestic or international catastrophe, as was the case in the war with Spain. This war was duly entirely to the incitement of the loudest shouting mobs, and to the influence these outcries had upon the administration at Washington and upon congress. The war was one of those that should never have been fought, and if the press had used its powers for good instead of for evil, and had sought to allay feeling until calm investigation could have been made, the United States could have accomplished everything that it finally achieved, through a medium of peace and to its lasting honor.

Many similar instances of the evil power of the press are to be found in the stirring up of feeling against capital, against the rich merely because they are rich, against any power, whether in politics, or business, or society—firing the irritation and resentment of labor against its employer—chiefly because in movements of this kind, in war, in turmoil, and catastrophe, the press is most prosperous, because its wares are most in demand.

But these noisy mobs, created and continually excited by the daily press, do not make public opinion, and their outcries are not the expression of the calm thought of the people. The flapping of these red-banner sheets, that are issued momentarily from the daily press in time of war and catastrophe, may create race and class hatreds. They may create antagonism between nations that will result in tremendous loss to both, or destruction to one; but they do not create public opinion, which is slow in its growth, requiring years for its formation. What this public opinion may be, may be seen years afterward, as revealed in the growth of the nation, calmly continued amid all this noisy excitation of the mob and the attempts to stir up national, race, and class passions. The press becomes the mere trumpeter of the forces of disorder, and not the spokesman of the people. What is usually called "public opinion" is generally nothing more than this temporary, inflamed passion of the mob nearest to the newspaper offices. Burke has drawn an unforgettable picture, in which he describes the noisy chirruping of grasshoppers in the wide pastures of England, while



the cattle, that make the wealth and power of the land, are silently chewing the cud in the shelter of the trees. This is the difference that is found between these plangent cries of the "grasshopper" press, while public opinion is really being formed in silence, and will be revealed later in quiet but resistless action.

Matthew Arnold, who did not very greatly love his own people, spoke of England as marching "sullenly on to the goal"—a great, "weary Titan"—

"Bearing on shoulders immense,  
Atlantean, the load  
Well-nigh not to be borne,  
Of the too vast orb of her fate."

This is true of every great people. Its goal is dimly seen, perhaps invisible even to itself; but it is marching to a definite goal, and the outcries of the press, or of administrations that seek to create public opinion or divert the ongoing of the masses, are utterly without effect.

What is usually accepted as "public opinion" may be manufactured. It is not a difficult thing to make. It is made every day in the offices in Washington, by proclamation and acts of the administration; by articles in the magazines, by books, and by the daily press. But this is not real public opinion; only a more dangerous kind of momentary passion that must feed upon the object of its hatred or distrust. The fury of the nation is aroused for the purpose of crushing an already helpless country, like Spain; or for insulting and extorting advantage from an already humiliated country, like Colombia; or for the purpose of gaining popularity by an onslaught on vested rights. The most powerful creator of this kind of "public opinion" is, of course, the daily press, and in its work along these lines it is the greatest source of peril to the nation. The press was responsible not only for the Spanish war, but for all its attendant train of horrors—the betrayal of our allies in the Philippines; the stigma resting eternally upon us for forcing ourselves upon a race that hates us; our relations to Cuba; the imperialistic sentiment, which has now written the

darkest page of American history—the seizure of Colombian territory—in fact, it has brought about a complete “suspension of American ideals.”

This so-called public opinion is also largely manufactured in Washington for strictly partizan or “imperialistic” purposes. It is generally founded upon a false conception that the American people are as thirsty for glory as the Latin race. It has committed the nation to a perfect orgy of depredation. It led us into the Chinese imbroglio, where we joined with the predatory nations of Europe in humiliating and plundering the helpless Chinese. After the Panamá affair, no one would be amazed at any course attempted by our government. Shall we be content with what we have seized; or shall we seek to press our advantage? Shall we annex San Domingo, which now seems probable? Shall we finally annex Cuba, which seems inevitable? Shall we annex Canada, Mexico, and Central America? Will the United States even be content in making the Isthmian Canal its southern boundary, or will it go beyond, and absorb South America? Indeed, there is no limit to the possibilities opened by the present fury of imperialistic sentiment that has been aroused by the administration and stimulated by the “yellow” press.

There is ever-present, of course, the danger that the shoutings of the mob the exciting sensationalism of the press, and the imperialistic ambition of a strenuous and audacious administration, may eventually produce a permanent sentiment, and so create public opinion. Our official action in the case of the Philippines and of Colombia was, indeed, based upon the assumption that the “imperialistic” sentiment of the administration was accepted by the people of this country; although it is confidently believed that in both cases the better sentiment in the country was distinctly opposed to the course of the government. The major portion of the press was rampant for conquest and aggression. In each case the action of the government was considered a great political “stroke.” It was the doing of such a thing as Frederick, or Cæsar, or Napoleon the Little, would have been glad to defile his hands with, and, as such, classed us with the “great” powers of the old world.

Not only was there no stern protest made by the secular press, as representing sound, prudent, public opinion ; but even the religious press—and this is a remarkable phenomenon—hastened to array itself on the side of aggression, of imperialism, and of unwarranted conquest. Had Russia done, or undertaken to do, what we did in the Philippines or Panamá, every paper in this country, even the religious press, would have hurled its thunders of denunciation at the Tsar and at the hopeless barbarity of the Slav. This was done when the Russians undertook the absorption of Finland, which was a mere Sunday school diversion as compared with the course of this country in the Philippines and in Panamá.

There is danger, therefore, when both secular and religious press are eager to ally themselves with the administration in such policies, that public sentiment may be created that will lead the nation into disaster, if not destruction. There is danger that the continuous and vociferous assertion that such is the sentiment of this country may be accepted, and that the American people may come to believe that any act of violence against wealth, or the upper "classes," any outrage against business or social ranks, is fully justified, and that our people may believe, with the English and Russians, that any act of aggression is sanctioned so long as it extends the blood-stained boundaries of the "empire." If this misfortune should follow, the whole character of the American people would be altered, and there would be in America, instead of a country of liberty and opportunity, a pandemonium of socialism and anarchy, or a brutalized horde of conquerors.

It is comforting to reflect, however, that this bluster and aggressiveness is still on the surface, and does not represent the true sentiment or thought of the great American people. It is comforting to believe that on some tomorrow we shall see things as they are, with saner eyes, and find that the sterling, sober character of the American people is still secure—"like Teneriff or Atlas unremoved"—and that we have been taking for "public opinion" the mere chirruping of grasshoppers or the ravings of imperialism.



## THE COTTON MILL AS A CIVILIZER

E. G. DUNNELL

A LITTLE MORE than ten years ago, 1890-91, there were in Southern cotton mills some 1,950,000 spindles, operated by approximately 30,000 hands. In 1903 there were in Southern cotton mills, 8,000,000 spindles, with about 130,000 hands to run them. At the earlier date, the cotton mills in the South employed about one-seventh of all the cotton mill operatives in the country. Now that section finds labor for nearly one-half the whole number of hands engaged in cotton mills in the United States. In the ten years from 1892 to 1902 the number of spindles in Northern mills increased 1,750,000, while the increase in the South was 4,450,000 spindles. These figures set forth with an eloquence that must be convincing the ambition and determination of the South to enjoy, as far as possible, the profit and incidental advantages to be secured by the conversion of the raw material they produce into cloth right where the cotton is raised.

One of the incidental advantages to be gained by attention to economical effort was the employment in the process of manufacturing of a large number of its people. At the outset of the recent cotton manufacturing movement in the South a tentative effort was made to employ the negroes as mill hands. It was a short-lived experiment, abandoned as futile by almost common agreement. The Piedmont and lowland whites, mostly shiftless, irregular toilers, as averse to systematic labor as the negroes, were not inaccurately regarded and described by the negroes as "po' white trash." They proved also to be almost as unteachable and unreliable as the negroes. It became necessary, therefore, to seek for help in another direction.

Rather hopelessly the mill owners turned their eyes to the hills. From that section came the help upon which they have since largely depended. The new mills, in Columbia, Spartanburg, Greenville, and at other places in South and North Carolina, and generally in what is known as the Piedmont

region, are near the homes of the hill people. These owners or tenants of small properties, of little value, were considerable in number, attached to their primitive homes and manner of living. To draw them out it was necessary to send among them smart agents, to lure them down by tempting accounts of the chances awaiting them for making money and generally getting on better in the world. To one who had obtained the impression that the hill people were to be envied as a class that had lived a sort of ideal sylvan seclusion, their acceptance of service in the cotton mills may have seemed altogether deplorable. To such a one the mills might have appeared to be only vast, hideous, and noisy prisons. The mill women may have seemed, and probably were, ignorant, dirty, careless in dress and conversation, and not too moral. The homes of the workers, badly constructed rows of cheap brick or frame shanties, poorly drained, destitute of sanitary arrangements or precautions, may have appeared repulsive. They were often ill-furnished, untidy, and unclean as to their interiors. As to food, that upon which the mill worker subsisted was of little variety, of poor quality, badly cooked, and was served in such a rude and slap-dash fashion as quite to destroy the appetite of any but the least discriminating person.

As for the lives of the mill hands, they may appear to the more fortunately-placed to be hopelessly dull and wretched. The labor they are expected to perform is nerve-racking, muscle-straining, and health-destroying to a distressing degree, and it extends through long hours. To the hasty and sympathetic observer, it would undoubtedly seem painful in most of its details. One might be excited with horror to regard the desperate condition of the pale-faced women and children, drifting from mill to mill and from shanty to shanty, ever seeking better fortune, rising before the sun and working day and night in the deafening clatter of the spindles, for a mere pittance, poor sleeping accommodations, coarse, insufficient, and uninviting food, the shelter of insanitary lodgings, and in the service of soulless corporations intent only upon earning large dividends upon the capital invested in mill property. All

this, it may seem, the workers had exchanged for the free life of the hills, the seclusion of humble homes, the shelter from the tainting mill-town atmosphere assured by the primitive life and habits of the mountain population.

While this aspect of the subject touches the heart, appealing to the philanthropic mind for sympathetic appreciation of the distress caused by contemplation of changed conditions, some reflections of a hopeful character are induced by a consideration of the facts. It is true that the situation at Columbia, and at other Southern mill-towns, is that the lot of the worker is hard ; but it should be pointed out that it is also true and more assuring that there are many grounds for thankfulness and hope in the situation. It is essential, also, to a fair and full presentation of the matter that some comparisons should be made between the present conditions of the mill-workers and their past conditions as dwellers in the hills they left.

The mill-workers at Columbia and in the Piedmont region are largely drawn from the hill country. The people in the hill country of North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and even in Virginia, are a peculiar type. They have led for generations an isolated existence, are generally ignorant and sometimes proud of their illiteracy, and the children indifferent to the lack of educational advantages of which the parents had commonly been deprived and for which no longing was felt. Those who have traveled through the Southern mountains know of this peculiar class of Americans, of their hospitality, poverty, lack of personal and household cleanliness, their higglety-pigglety manner of living, their absolute disregard of the importance of sanitation, and their indifference to the desirability of rational food and cooking. Of society, as we understand it, they have almost no experience whatever, their association with their fellow-creatures lacking many of the gentle habits and graces cultivated and observed in more populous and better-organized communities. Their morality is not, and can not be, of a high order. Their fashion of living rather indiscriminately in cabins of one room, seldom separated even by curtains, precludes the existence of a high standard of morality and mutual respect between the sexes.



Acknowledging their hospitality and courage does not require that they be clothed with the attributes of delicacy and virtue that would be contrary to the free and almost savage life they lead. It would be absurd to attempt to maintain that they are superior in virtue to the average lowland people who have lived for generations subject to greater restraints of law and custom, until virtuous living has become to them at once desirable and necessary.

The call to the hill people to become mill-hands was the appeal of the despairing mill-owners for help to a race of natives for the most part penniless, squalid, of industry not ascertained, improvident of time, without method, hopeless, ignorant, and having no future in view for themselves or their children more inspiring than their own cheerless and wasted past. Negroes abounded, but they had been tried and found unavailable because of incompetency and unreliability. Black labor had been lured to try the work by the attractive prize of the promised wages; but it generally seemed to lack the intelligence to acquire the skill necessary in the simplest mill-work, and its almost total instability, after sufficient skill had been developed, put it out of the question to rely upon it to conduct steady operations. The negro tired too easily and unexpectedly, and required too many holidays at unusual periods, regardless of the demands upon the mill-owners, in which to enjoy his earnings. The white people from the hills proved in every respect to be a superior industrial factor.

Very slow at first was the response from the hills. A few men ventured to come down out of the mountains and take hold. They learned the simplest processes, earned a few dollars, were advanced to more difficult and remunerative tasks, went home with the report of what they had accomplished, and came back with recruits eager to earn the first dollars in ready money they had ever received. The news spread, and presently the hills were afire with it. Like a fever spread the longing to earn money. The very children felt the contagion. Evidently without a pang of regret, the mountaineers left the desolate, one-roomed cabins along the lonely mountain roads, where they and their ancestors had alternately starved and frozen,

feasted and sweltered, and swarmed into what to them was a land of promise, into what to those who had lived in the lonely hills seemed to be the crowded mill villages. They came into a new world. The unsightly mill shanties, ugly and uninviting as they may appear to the gently-reared, were to the hill people models of convenience and comparative attractiveness. The exodus, made up largely of people of their own class, like them in speech, manners and habits, was a crowd of zealous searchers after money, all eager to earn wages and to acquire for the first time the habit of systematic labor, in order that they might gain from it a share of the great world's wealth.

When the hill people first appeared at Columbia and at mill towns in the Piedmont, they excited the derision of the ruder whites, not much more civilized than themselves, and even the contempt of the shiftless and indolent negroes. They met with the aversion that the suspected "foreigner," whether from Ireland, Germany, or Portugal, encountered a few years ago when first he ventured to intrude upon the exclusive interior New-Englander. The men were awkward, diffident, too often coarse in speech, but commonly courteous to strangers. Their garb was scant and strange, lacking in some of the garments that civilized men consider indispensable. Under-shirts, when worn, went seldom to the wash. Too many of the men had been drinkers of hot whisky, taken raw from the still, and were apt to be violent upon short provocation. They were indifferent about their deficiencies of clothing. Anything, and very little of it, was good enough to work in. The women were mostly "sights" to look at, gaunt, careworn, ill-fed, and rarely good-looking. They had no skill at hairdressing, and very little practise. Every woman wore a sunbonnet, and most of them constantly used snuff without expectation of fear of reproach, and smoked pipes, if they liked. The children were a rather graceless lot, half-clothed, dirty, savage in their habits and appetites but withal vigorous and sturdy, and not more destructive than the more civilized children with whom they were brought into contact but not close association. Families of this sort were put in the houses built by the companies for

their mill-hands. To the newcomers these homes were vastly superior, in most cases, to the habitations they had left, not hotter in summer, warmer in winter, and at all times a better protection from storms of wind and rain. For awhile they appeared to be palaces of comfort, wonderful in their convenience, delightful in their nearness to the mills and to stores in which wages, or the credit won by labor, could be exchanged for food more inviting than that to which they had been accustomed, and for clothing cheaper and more becoming than they had ever imagined they could need or could buy.

The ignorant hill people, now mill-workers, had fallen in with the march of civilization. They did not know it. They would not have believed it if they had been told so; but they had, and they went marching right along with the procession, blindly, with a sort of unconscious original native pride, but still marching. This forward move did not make them at once clean, properly dressed, wisely or well-fed, religious, moral, tasteful, hopeful, confident beings. But it told on them so positively that the startling change effected among the women was too great to escape observation, because upon none has the introduction of a higher civilization told more unmistakably, and it may be hoped beneficially, than upon the women who came down from the hills to tend the spindles.

It was not long after the hill woman got a job in the mills that she became conscious of deficiencies in her dress. She saw enough of more civilized women, even in the mills, to know that she was not like them; she did not need to be told that her sunbonnet would not do, that her one-piece frock made her look like a fright, that underclothing, however negligible in the hills, was indispensable if outer clothing was to be kept clean; that she must tidy up her hair, drop snuff, and quit smoking a pipe. And the children who worked in the mill, when they were of years too tender and of intelligence too undeveloped to be fit for school or for the performance of the simplest household tasks, began to gain wisdom and confidence. Mere infants, scarcely out of the maternal arms, found employment in the mills, where they gladly earned a few cents a day. It was a sin and a reproach upon their



parents and upon the mill-owners that this employment of immature children was permitted, but its cruelty did not for a long time appear to those who tolerated the practise, or impress the law-making body, controlled by a spirit of commercialism, to do away with its most objectionable features. The fever to learn and to earn burned in old and young alike. And the hill children, brought into even distant association with the white children of their neighborhood, found that among the poor white children of the Piedmont, often lacking many school advantages, they were woefully deficient, having had no schooling at all. Little by little, as parents gained employment and were able to dispense with the paltry earnings of their young, and also became conscious of a desire that they should attend schools like other children, increasing numbers of the children of mill-workers found their way—often reluctant to give up work—into the schools and began to pick up the rudiments of an education.

Not all the hill people were able to keep up the fight for existence. Hard work, constitutional ailments that were developed with careless living and insanitary surroundings, threw out many who had become crippled and incapable. Some of these wrecks found their way back into the hills, hoping for restoration in their old homes. Their story, overburdened as it was with the report of arduous toil and hardship, of lack of human sympathy on the part of employers, of the irksomeness of systematic and grinding labor, still corroborated that told by the agents of the mills in search of new laborers. It brought the glint of gold with it, a glimpse of better times, of wages to be earned, of better clothes, better houses, better food, of education, church, school, the dance, the social gathering, of improvement reaching out to promotion and individual importance, even so small an advance as that to be a foreman or superintendent acquiring a lustre in the eyes of the hill folk which may seem incredible to those fitted to aspire to greater responsibilities and emoluments.

Thoughtful persons, familiar for years with the life and habits of the hill people, looking at this stirring up of a whole class as a forward movement, promising to lift an ignorant,

proud, and despised, but independent, peaceable, passably industrious, and ambitious portion of the community out of the degrading existence into which generations of them had sunk, have felt satisfaction in it as an evolutionary process. In the brief period of about ten years it has not been possible to demonstrate its unqualified beneficence. But slow as has been the process, attended by so much of hardship, personal distress, and failure, of mistaken ambition and folly as it has been, and as it may continue to be, the demand for labor that has drawn down from the mountains an increasing number of people from year to year, to be introduced to new and strange conditions of life, to toil and to learn in the mill country, is believed by many philanthropic observers to have been very advantageous to those who have shared in the movement.

Of course, the evolution of the hill people is not accomplished with miraculous speed. The men who were accustomed to the free, unregulated, rude life of the hills, and who were addicted to the use of whisky hot from the still, did not all at once lose their savage appetites, and occasionally fell by the wayside, the victims of the painted and flavored cold whisky of the mill-town grogeries. The women, particularly the younger women, having discarded snuff-taking and other repulsive habits that were not objected to in the hills, are apt to fall into the way of cultivating a wage-consuming taste for showy clothing, jewelry, and other luxuries of adornment indulged in by their kind, and to drift into rather indiscriminate association with mill-boys. This undoubtedly has led to neglect of the standard of morality with which they have become acquainted. But men and women alike have been aroused from the lethargy of ages. The tyrannical mill-bell or whistle wakes them every morning to resume a race that, in spite of its hardships, is fascinating to them in its allurements. Some of the prizes may seem tawdry and not worth the effort necessary to achieve them, particularly to those enjoying the advantages of more fortunate origin and more favored training. Some of the prizes may be unattainable. But as a whole it has been a movement favoring a wholesome striving for improvement, and the effort to rise, even though its inci-

dental hardships can not be forgotten, must be regarded as having helped up the hill people.

It was only about ten years ago that the flocking to the mills began, yet the mill hands who came down first have so improved that it seems impossible that they should ever be willing to exchange the conditions under which they now live for those they left. Only the sick and dying return. There may be individuals who cherish romantic recollections about their old mountain homes, but there are few or no women who are willing to give up the noisy mills in order to be able to roam the woods in a single-piece frock and a sunbonnet.

In time, when the tasks of the mill laborers shall have been lightened by considerate corporations, when shorter hours, higher wages, hot lunches, better schools, libraries, social assemblies, and other civilizing surroundings shall have been provided in larger measure, the mill workers of the South will realize the advantages that the philanthropist now sees awaiting them. At present their lot is hard, possibly because of some circumstances inseparable from exacting work at low wages, from mill conditions that can not suddenly be mitigated. The mills are not run by philanthropists, but by men who are trying to earn dividends upon capital. They pay such wages as they think their earnings will justify. They provide such tenements as are consistent with the realization of profits. Like all habitations for mill people, these tenements are plain, and they are kept vilely or well, according to the taste or training of the tenants. But there are good, fair-minded Christian people in the South Carolina country who have seen the hill people arrive and labor for years in the mills, who are prepared to assert and prove that the condition of those people as a whole is better than it was when they arrived penniless at Columbia, better than it was when they first found employment, and infinitely better and more hopeful than it was when they lived in their lonely hovels in the hills.



## PITTSBURG, THE METROPOLIS OF IRON AND STEEL

WILLIAM GILBERT IRWIN.

ASIDE FROM holding front rank among the world's great manufacturing cities, Pittsburg is in many ways the unique city of the new world. While her latter-day record is largely made of triumphs in the manufacture of iron and steel, in the production of coal and coke, and in a myriad of other industrial superlatives, the supply of which are so necessary in the evolution of human progress, this iron and steel metropolis has a most interesting history. Almost a century and a half has elapsed since the banner of Anglo-Saxon civilization was planted upon the spot now embraced within this municipality. The record of Pittsburg's eighteenth century life bears a bar sinister in blood through Indian savagery, and the barbarities of European mercenaries. The past has seen the flags of three nations and the banners of two contending provinces waving in victorious possession o'er this blood consecrated soil. For more than half a century this was the one spot on the horizon of the new world around which circled the intrigues of European courts and whence came the clouds of war which long involved England and the continent.

Passing over the days of the French and Indian War, which struggle forever dissipated the fond hopes of the French for empire in the new world, we find Pittsburg the center of the Whisky Insurrection, her people arrayed in arms against federal authority. Later the city was annihilated by conflagration, during the Civil War she gave liberally of men and munitions, and not so long ago the city was the scene of the greatest railroad, coal, iron, and steel riots known to history. Today Pittsburg is constantly witnessing the greatest struggles between capital and labor, struggles waged in peace and involving the expenditures of enormous finances, the organization of mighty armies of employes, and the evolution of mechanical and engineering skill to the highest degree. Such have been

the crucial tests encountered in the development of this, the world's greatest industrial center.

In the manufacture of iron and steel, Pittsburg was one of the pioneer cities of America, and her progress has been constant. To-day the industrial efforts of this great city cover a wide scope, and along all lines she continues to hold pre-eminence. Pittsburg has the largest blast and open-hearth furnaces and is more largely engaged in the transformation of raw ore to commercial iron and steel than any other manufacturing district. The Bessemer steel mills, armor-plate mills, rail mills, tube mills, plate mills, tin-plate mills, structural steel plants, and varied great plants devoted to the conversion of iron and steel into all the finished forms to be found about Pittsburg, are not excelled and scarcely equaled elsewhere in the world. Pittsburg also possesses the world's greatest foundries, electrical plants, air-brakes, switch and signal works, steel car plants, fire-brick works and glass factories.

Aside from possessing all the important plants of the United States Steel Corporation, which includes the Carnegie Steel Company, the American Bridge Company, the National Tube Company, the American Steel and Wire Company, the American Sheet Steel Company, the American Tin Plate Company, and the American Steel Hoop Company, Pittsburg has more than a dozen other gigantic iron and steel concerns, each capitalized at more than \$50,000,000, among which may be mentioned the Crucible Steel Company of America, the American Car and Foundry Company, the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, the Pressed Steel Car Company, the Jones and Laughlin's Steel Company, the Standard Sanitary Manufacturing Company, the Pittsburg Stove and Range Company, and the Standard Steel Car Company. Among the other great manufacturing concerns may be mentioned the Union Switch and Signal Company, allied with the Westinghouse interests, and whose various railway operating materials are in use in every part of the world where railway work has been attempted. The enormous consumption of fire-brick and other crucible products in this district has resulted in the recent formation of the Harbison Walker Refractories Company, with

a capital of \$100,000,000. Altogether, some \$3,000,000,000 are represented in the capitalization of the various manufacturing concerns of this city.

While the population of the corporation of Pittsburgh is but little more than a third of a million, adjoining boroughs, really a part of the city, would bring the population up to something like 800,000, and within a radius of fifteen miles there is a population of something like a million and a half. In speaking of Pittsburgh it is customary to include within the district all that vast manufacturing district in western Pennsylvania embraced in the Monongahela, Allegheny, Ohio, Beaver, and Shenango valleys, and lying within thirty or forty miles of the city. All this section is now one vast iron and steel producer, being over-run with a net-work of railway lines, steam and electric, and filled with great iron and steel manufacturing plants. All this vast development adjacent to Pittsburgh has occurred within the last ten years, land values in many instances having increased 10,000 per cent., manufacturing sites now being practically unavailable.

In the industrial establishments of the Pittsburgh district nearly half a million men are now employed, and the industrial establishments represent the most advanced practise in machinery, operation, and all the details of such work, every facility being presented for the adaptation of the modern products of inventive genius. Consequently this district has been responsible for the evolution of many of those labor-saving methods and appliances that have reduced the iron and steel business of the world to a scientific basis. In industrial operations, as here conducted, machinery that a year ago was regarded as the most approved is now supplanted by the products of more recent mechanical and engineering skill. Very frequently labor-saving devices that do the work of hundreds of men are introduced, but there is no decrease in the requirements of the workmen, the men displaced by inventive genius being required in other features of the work involved in the vast increase of production in order to meet the demand.

There are numerous single-blast furnace stacks in the Pittsburgh district that are now producing pig iron at the rate



of 1,000 tons daily, or more than 300,000 tons annually, while thirty years ago the annual production of this material in the United States was less than the present annual production of a single stack. The annual production of all kinds of steel in the United States in 1870 was less than 70,000 tons, while the production for 1902 was 10,500,000 tons, more than one-third of which came from the Pittsburg district. The rail mills of the Carnegie Steel Company are turning out rails at the rate of more than thirty miles of completed single railway tracks daily, and in 1902 Pittsburg produced 26 per cent. of all steel rails manufactured in the country. Some further evidence of what this great manufacturing city is doing in the production of steel materials will be gleaned from the fact that Pittsburg is producing 52 per cent. of the crucible steel, 33 per cent. of all rolled iron and steel products, 49 per cent. of the open-hearth steel ingots, and 58 per cent. of all structural steel materials manufactured in the United States. The production of all kinds of steel in Pittsburg in 1902 was equal to one-half the production of Great Britain, exceeded that of Germany, was twice that of France, five times that of either Russia or Belgium, and twenty-five times the production of Spain.

The foundry interests of Pittsburg stand foremost among the great iron and steel industries, all kinds of cast iron, steel, brass, bronze, and aluminium products being manufactured in large quantities. At the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company's great plant at East Pittsburg, engines capable of developing 10,000 horse-power are being built, as are generators for electrical power purposes of the same proportions. Already the power-generating machinery perfected by this company has reduced the mighty forces of nature as exhibited at Niagara to the subservient requirements of modern industry, and is now carrying on this same work in Africa, and on the Pampas of Argentina, and elsewhere. Just as these vast power appliances have already solved the problem of rapid transit in many American cities, as it is now doing in New York, so, too, will this company give the world's metropolis all that is to be desired in the way of rapid transit.

A comparatively new industry that has been evolved in

Pittsburg, and one that has revolutionized the railway freight traffic of the world, is the manufacture of pressed steel cars, which was begun in a small way some six or seven years ago by the Schoen Pressed Steel Car Company. Today the industry is handled by the Pressed Steel Car Company with a capital of \$100,000,000, the company turning out about 3,000 cars annually. The new industry has resulted in increasing the capacity of the freight car from about fifty to one hundred tons, these steel cars now being used on all the important roads in the world.

To go into all the important features of the industrial work of the Pittsburg district would be to write volumes instead of pages. Through the uniform excellence of the various iron and steel products here manufactured the story of Pittsburg's industrial triumphs has been recited in every land. Her rail mills are rolling out bands of steel that are binding remote parts of the great countries of the world in closer bonds of commercial unity. Great cargoes of this product have gone to build the Trans-Siberian road, Pittsburg rails are used in Africa and in Australia, indeed, in nearly every country where the railway has appeared.

Pittsburg is building bridges in the Orient; her locomotives are climbing into the clouds along the slopes of the Cordilleras, and awakening the land of the Pharoahs; the armor-plate mills of the Carnegie Steel Company are girdling the ships of the world with impenetrable steel, while the electrical products, air-brakes, and astronomical instruments manufactured in Pittsburg are known wherever civilization and science have penetrated. Punta Arenas, in Tierra del Fuego, is the southernmost continental spot on the globe, but the modern lighthouse on that lonely coast is equipped with machinery manufactured in Pittsburg, and Pittsburg electrical apparatus is now in operation in Hammerfest, Norway. From the deepest drifts of the great Hecla and Calumet copper mine in Michigan, where work is now carried on at a depth of 6,000 feet below the surface, to Yanteles, in the Andes, 14,000 feet above sea level, is a far cry, yet shipments of electrical apparatus left Pittsburg at the same time, the one for the deep mine, the other for the

snow-capped mountains. The exportation of varied iron and steel and allied products from the Pittsburg district in 1902 aggregated a value of more than \$50,000,000, or more than 25 per cent. of the value of the manufactured products exported by the United States.

The bituminous coal fields around Pittsburg have an area of more than 20,000 square miles, and an annual production of more than 100,000,000 tons, or more than one-third of the fuel production of the country, and about one-eighth of that of the whole world. The abundance of her fuel supply has been one of the most potent sources of Pittsburg's industrial greatness. This district produced in 1902 more than one-half of the 25,000,000 tons of coke manufactured in the United States, a large amount of which went to feed her great iron and steel plants. Among the other geological resources are vast supplies of gas and petroleum, these fields being the oldest and most productive in the world.

As a railway center, Pittsburg holds first rank, more traffic originating in this district than in any other manufacturing city in the world. Pittsburg's railway traffic, which amounts to about 80,000,000 tons annually, exceeds that of New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Chicago combined; it is twice that of London, and four times that of Paris. During the past year 1,500,000 freight cars were required to carry the ore, iron, and steel to and from the plants of this district; 1,000,000 cars were used in the coal and coke traffic; while the various other articles of commerce required an enormous number of cars. In spite of the fact that four great railway systems permeate every part of the district, and give connections to all parts of the country, Pittsburg has for some time been confronted with a lack of railway facilities, and at present something like \$200,000,000 are being expended in railway work in the district. Within a short time the Gould system will have a line in operation to Pittsburg, and the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad is reaching out for its share of the rich profits. The fact that the railroads centering in Pittsburg are the most profitable in the world is a sufficient stimulus to afford relief for any lack in railway facilities.



Although an inland city, Pittsburgh holds sixth rank among the great shipping ports of the United States, the traffic of its tideless waters being exceeded only by that of New York, of Philadelphia, of Baltimore, of Chicago, and of Buffalo. From Pittsburgh to the Mississippi, a distance of a thousand miles, the Ohio affords a magnificent water-way, an annual tonnage of more than 16,000,000 tons being carried on the stream last year, most of this coming from Pittsburgh. The Ohio and its tributaries afford more than 3,000 miles of navigable waters, and an unbroken highway from Pittsburgh to the gulf. In the improvement of the Ohio and its tributaries the United States government has expended something like \$40,000,000, while a much greater sum has been expended upon the Missouri, whose annual traffic now amounts to less than half a million tons. About Pittsburgh the Monongahela is navigable for more than a hundred miles, and more than 10,000,000 tons of coal is brought down that stream every year. At Pittsburgh the coal crafts are made up into great fleets and sent down the Ohio and Mississippi to the gulf. As early as 1802 a cargo of coal was shipped by river, gulf, and ocean from Pittsburgh to Havre. Many of the great towboats now in the coal trade on the Ohio are capable of moving a fleet bearing 150,000 tons of coal, a quantity sufficient to supply a city of 10,000 people for more than a year. To move the same cargo by rail would require 1,500 of the largest cars; it would make fifty ordinary trains, and would require one hundred engines to move it. While Pittsburgh today stands at the head of the greatest river water-way system in the world, improvements now under way on the Monongahela and Allegheny by the national government will extend navigation above the city on the former stream one hundred and fifty miles, and on the latter sixty miles.

For a long time the industrial magnates of Pittsburgh have been interested in the plan for the construction of a great ship-canal between the Ohio and Lake Erie, and considerable preliminary work has already been done, enough to demonstrate the feasibility of the project and to show that a canal that would give passage to vessels of 3,000 tons or more, can be built with a decided economy.

Some idea of Pittsburg's progress along other than manufacturing lines will be conveyed when it is stated that the building operations in the city last year exceeded a value of \$100,000,000, and the transactions in real estate amounted to a billion dollars. Today Pittsburg's sky line is not so different from that of New York, dozens of great sky-scrapers having been erected, with many others under construction.

Some fifteen years ago Andrew Carnegie began his endowing libraries through the presentation of the Carnegie Library to Pittsburg, and while his gifts of libraries since that time have extended to all parts of the United States, Great Britain, and Canada, he has continued to keep a fatherly eye on his initial gift here in the city of his adoption, and from time to time has provided liberally for its extension, until today the institution has become one of the greatest of its kind in the country. The latest gift of the great iron-master provides for a great technical school in connection with the present institution, something like \$30,000,000 being available for the project.

Altogether the accomplishments of this great iron and steel center are scarcely equaled elsewhere on earth. It will be readily seen that Pittsburg owes its commanding position in the industrial world to a wide combination of favorable conditions and advantageous circumstances, such as few, if any, other cities command. Her geographical position, midway between the two great centers of population, her vast railway and water facilities, unlimited mineral resources, and advantageous manufacturing conditions, combine to work out her rapid development along diversified lines.

## JAPAN: A MARVELOUS SURVIVAL

### HOW THE MOST MODERN NATION OF THE EAST EXISTS UNDER ANCIENT CUSTOMS

YAE KICHI YABE

THE fundamental laws of Japan consist of a Constitution and an "Imperial House Law." The relations between the emperor and the people have remained practically unaltered since the first Emperor Jimmu, 2564 years ago; and the promulgation of the laws has had for sole purpose the defining and confirmation of these relations. There have not been introduced any new opinions or new ideas of government; but the original national polity has been simply perpetuated.

Such being the view of the Japanese, it is apparent that a clear understanding of the peculiar form of the government must be had in the light of Japanese history. While it may be admitted that there were occasional disturbances in the unity of political powers, during the reign of the feudal clans, when the emperors were only nominal rulers, the unbroken lineage of the Japanese sovereigns remains unparalleled in the history of other countries. The prescript of the first emperor, who proclaimed on his ascension to the throne that "The Country of Goodly Grain is the state over which our descendants shall become the sovereigns," and that of the Emperor Mommu, whose reign dates back to 697-707, A.D., who declared that "as long as the emperors beget sons, they shall in succession govern the country of the Eight Great Islands" (Oyashima), have been confirmed. The Imperial House Law simply confirms these prescripts, and it is, in turn, constitutionally verified by the clause that "The imperial throne shall be succeeded to by imperial male descendants, according to the provisions of the Imperial House Law." The first article of the Constitution, therefore, reads: "the empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of emperors unbroken for ages eternal."

The sovereignty of Japan rests with the emperor, practically and theoretically. It has been so since the foundation of



the empire, and the fact is still more firmly established by the fourth article of the Constitution which declares that "the emperor is the head of the empire, combining in himself the right of sovereignty and of exercising it according to the provisions of the present Constitution." He "exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Imperial Diet." The emperor is thus both the legislative and the executive head. Upon the legislative power, of course, some restriction is put, for in this case the consent of the Diet has to be had; but he is by no means bound within narrow limits, since he reserves all that is not defined, besides whatever is explicitly given by the Constitution. Thus, he "issues, in consequence of an urgent necessity to maintain public safety or avert public calamity, imperial ordinances in place of law, when the Diet is not in session." Such ordinances, however, "are to be laid before the Diet at its next session, and, when the Diet has not approved them, the government shall have to declare them to be invalid for the future."

Much discussion has been raised regarding this clause, for it was thought not impossible on the part of the government to abuse the power constitutionally given, tending thereby to create the impression that the government can find a pretense for avoiding recourse to the Diet, so that the provisions of the Constitution may become a dead letter. Such fear, however, may be dismissed by the clear explanations of the clause by Marquis Itô, the chief author of the Constitution, in his famous commentary, which may be regarded as semiofficial. The authorizing of the issuance of Imperial Ordinances, according to him, refers to exceptional cases; that is, in a time of emergency, when abuses must be strictly guarded against. Consequently, he further explains, in issuing an "emergency ordinance" it is the rule to declare that it has been issued in strict accordance with the provisions of the article.

Another clause that gives power to the government is as follows: "The emperor issues, or causes to be issued, the ordinances necessary for carrying out laws, or for the maintenance of public peace and order, and for promotion of welfare of the subjects," provided that "no ordinance shall in any

way alter any of the existing laws." This article defines the sovereignty of the emperor as the administrative, rather than as the legislative head, so that an ordinance issued under the provision has no power over the law.

In other than legislative functions, the emperor's power is absolutely unlimited. He has, of course, the supreme command of the army and navy, the power to declare war and to proclaim peace, to conclude treaties, and to declare a state of siege, provided that "the effects of a state of siege shall be determined by law." Again, the power to confer titles of nobility, ranks, orders, and other marks of honor, constitutionally belongs to the emperor, together with those of amnesty, pardon, commutation of punishment, and rehabilitation.

To "The Rights and Duties of the Subjects" are devoted fifteen articles of the Constitution, and they define the relations of the people toward the emperor. These relations, of course, must not be supposed as having recently arisen, but as having been kept unaltered from the very beginning of the empire. The essential feature of the policy of successive emperors was that they loved and cherished their subjects, who, in turn, venerated and regarded them with the deepest affection. The relations, in short, are paternal and filial. Hence, the duty imposed on the people is not the kind that binds slaves to a master, or a people to a despotic monarch, as in some other countries, but is that of perfect mutual devotion. This is evident from the study of Japanese history; and if there be any theory of the duty and rights of subjects to their ruler, the Japanese must base it upon these facts.

During the military reigns of the feudal lords, the warriors and the common people were placed in separate classes, the former monopolizing the exercise of all power, while the latter were denied their civil rights. Since the Restoration, 37 years ago, the exclusive privilege of the military class has been abolished; and now all Japanese subjects, regardless of rank or distinction, may enjoy their rights without fear of interference.

The conditions necessary for being a Japanese subject, according to the Constitution, are determined by law. By a

Japanese subject, of course, is meant one who is so by birth, or by naturalization, or by other effect of law. He "may, according to qualifications determined by law, be appointed to civil or military or any other public service"; he has "the liberty of abode and of changing the same within the limits of the law." His personal liberty is constitutionally guaranteed by the clauses that "no Japanese subject shall be arrested, detained, tried, or punished, unless according to law," and that "he shall not be deprived of his right of being tried by the judges determined by law." The sanctity of his home and the secrecy of his letters are no less inviolable; for the Constitution provides that, "except in cases mentioned in law, the house of no Japanese subject shall be entered, or searched without his consent," and that "except in cases provided for in law, the secrecy of letters of a Japanese subject shall remain inviolable. He has also the liberty of religion and of speech, and the liberty of the press is assured by the clause that "a Japanese subject shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to his duty as a subject, enjoy freedom of religious belief" and that "he shall, within the limits of law, enjoy the liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meeting, and associations."

The Imperial Diet consists of a house of peers and a house of representatives, the former being composed of the members of the imperial family, of the orders of nobility, and of those who are nominated by the emperor. The house of representatives consists of members elected by the people. The legislative power is fully given to the Diet by the clause that "every law requires the consent of the Diet." Other powers granted are those of making representations to the government as to laws or upon any other subject, of holding deliberation publicly, except when the government on a resolution asks otherwise, of presenting addresses to the throne, of receiving petitions from the people, and of enacting, besides what is provided for in the Constitution and the laws of the house, rules necessary for the management of their internal affairs. Liberty of speech in the Diet is guaranteed by the clause that "no member of either house shall be held responsible, outside the respective house,



for any opinion uttered or any vote given in the house." "When, however, a member himself has given publicity to his opinions by public speech, by documents in print or in writing, or by any other means, he shall, in the matter, be amenable to the general laws." Special privilege and protection are also given to parliamentary members by the clause that "the members of both houses shall, during the session, be free from arrest, unless with the consent of the house, except in case of flagrant offenses connected with a state of internal commotion or with foreign trouble."

Other legally established political bodies of Japan are the ministers of state and the privy council, the former of which are charged with the duty of advising the emperor and of serving as the medium through which the emperor's commands are conveyed, and the administrative affairs executed. The privy council is to give its opinions on important matters of state in general, whenever it is called on by the emperor. These two are the emperor's most influential advisers.

The ministers of state are constitutionally required "to give their advice to the emperor." All laws, ordinances, and pre-scripts of whatever kind, that relate to affairs of state, must bear the countersignatures of the ministers. They are expected to serve the emperor in encouraging all that is proper and in discouraging all that is improper; and, in case they should err in this respect, they can not free themselves from the responsibility by pleading an order of the sovereign.

In old times the emperor had two direct advisers, *O-omi* and *O-muraji*, which are titles of ministers of state. This probably originated in Emperor Kōkoku's prescript, issued about 645 A.D., which said that "he that is the sovereign of a country and that rules its people would do well not to govern alone." In later times court favorites took almost the sole charge of the affairs of state, and it often happened that an important order was issued by the hands of petty officials in the name of an ex-emperor. After the Restoration, 37 years ago, however, orders were issued strictly prohibiting intrigues, and at the same time there was created the council of state, which gradually developed into a cabinet, composed of ten

ministers of state, namely the minister president of state, the minister of state for foreign affairs, the minister of state for home affairs, the minister of state for war, the minister of state for navy, the minister of state for education, the minister of state for agriculture and commerce, and the minister of state for communication.

As to the responsibility of the ministers of state, there has been much discussion. The Japanese ministry is responsible, but the responsibility is toward the emperor rather than toward the people. If the ministers err, the power of deciding upon the responsibility rests with the emperor, who can appoint or dismiss them, such power being given by virtue of the Constitution. Although the Diet had no such power, it may nevertheless put questions to the ministers and demand answers. The Diet may also present addresses to the emperor setting forth its opinions; and though the emperor reserves the right to select his ministers, he has to consider the susceptibilities of the public mind. In this sense, therefore, the Japanese cabinet may be regarded as indirectly responsible to the people.

The privy council is constitutionally charged with the duty of "deliberating, in accordance with the provisions for the organization of the privy council, upon important matters of state, when it has been consulted by the emperor." The emperor, while taking the supreme control of administrative affairs through the medium of the ministers of state, has under his command the assistance of the privy councilors, who furnish him with important information and advice on any matter of state whenever so requested. What is required of the ministers of state is quickness and ability in dispatching public affairs. But the task of planning far-sighted policy or of effecting new enactments, by meditation and deliberation, is left to a specially established institution, the privy council, composed of men of wide experience and of profound learning. The importance of having such a body can hardly be overlooked. When an "emergency ordinance" is to be issued, or a state of siege is to be declared, or when some extraordinary measure is deemed a necessity, the opinions of such a group of men must be of great value. Since such importance is attached to the privy

council, it is made an established rule that every ordinance or imperial command on which its opinions have been asked should contain a statement of the fact in its preamble. The function of the privy council is very broad, extending beyond the scope of the cabinet, or other high political bodies. Thus, the councilors are often consulted by the emperor in regard to the imperial house affairs, the president of the council being given a seat in the imperial family council. They are, however, to hold deliberation only when their opinions have been asked for by the emperor.

Apart from these institutions, there is another body, which, though without legal sanction, shares the task of directing the country's destiny. They are the "Elder Statemen," the *Gen-rô* or "original elders," who are the closest and most confidential advisers of the emperor in all matters. This is not a newly introduced institution; for its origin may be traced to the *Tai-rô*, or "grand elders," of the pre-Restoration period, who surmounted the feudal ruler, Tokugawa. The great influence that such men have had on affairs of state may be inferred from the fact that the people look more to them for the country's welfare than upon the real ruler. Thus, it was *Tai-rô* Ii, of the Tokugawa house, that suffered most the people's indignation because the feudal government opened the ports to foreigners, and fell a victim of assassination by the hands of the Mito *rôshi*, the wandering *samurai* of the Mito clan.

In the Meiji era, the Elder Statemen began to become conspicuous at about the time of issuance of the Constitution. That this should be so is regarded as natural because in that work their service and wisdom were much needed. At present, five men may be counted as the Elder Statemen, namely, Marquis Aritomo Yamagata, of the Chôshyu Clan; Marquis Hirobumi Itô, of the Chôshyu Clan; Marquis Iwao Oyama, of the Sasshyu Clan; Count Kaoru Inouye, of the Shôshyu Clan; and Count Masayoshi Matsukata, of the Sasshyu Clan. The oldest of them is Marquis Yamagata, and the youngest Count Matsukata. These men may be divided, as they originally served the emperor, as follows: As soldiers, Marquis Yamagata and Marquis Oyama; as a statesman, Marquis Itô; and as financiers,



Count Inouye and Count Matsukata. They all belong to the clans that assisted the emperor in the work of the Restoration. It may also be asserted that at least two, namely, Marquis Itô and Count Inouye, favor peace, while to the rest a war may not be unwelcome.

These privileged advisers are consulted by the emperor on "important questions bearing upon the destiny of the country," and it is understood that these questions include the cases of reorganizing the ministry, of determining foreign policy, and of meeting with an emergency that threatens the nation's welfare.

In order, however, that the result of the emperor's consultation with the "Elders" should not remain mere opinions, it is necessary to have a legally established body that may serve as the medium between the sovereign and the people, acting with the authority of administrators. This medium is the cabinet; and although these two bodies have no direct connection, except by the way in which each serves the emperor independently, their joint conference before the throne is often required, especially in case of an emergency calling for prompt deliberation and decisive action.

The difference between the privy council and the Elder Statemen is that the former is a constitutionally established body of advisers, while the latter are the private councilors of the emperor. Ordinances, emergency ordinances, or other imperial orders, outside of the legislative power of the Diet, are issued with a preamble containing a statement that the opinions of the privy council have been asked, if such has been done, on the matter; but no mention of the Elder Statemen would be made in connection with anything of a legal nature. The two, however, may be regarded as equally confidential assistants of the emperor, and the appointment of a privy councilor is often made from the Elder Statemen. At present two of the Elders, Marquis Itô and Count Matsukata, occupy seats, the former as the president, in the privy council.

## IMPRESSIONISM IN THE NOVEL

PAULINE CARRINGTON BOUVE

M. BRUNETIERE opens the essay with the above title by saying that, "as there are financial and political crises, so there are literary crises. . . . The literature of imagination during the age in which we live has passed through more than one of these crises; at this present moment, even, it is passing through one."

These words were written by M. Brunetière in 1879, and although the crisis to which he alludes is long since over, the effects of it are still to be felt in the current of the literary thought, effort, and expression of today. In this fourth essay on the "Roman Naturaliste", M. Brunetière discusses clearly and dispassionately the evils of impressionism in literature and in the literary art in general. While doing this, he uses Alphonse Daudet and his work as illustrative of his meaning of the term "impressionism", considered as a distinct and independent phase of realism. "Nothing is more natural," he remarks in this connection, "than that the complexity of intention and the division of interest should betray itself by a certain embarrassment of style, and, if I may say so, by a certain dispersion of plot and interest." He then expresses his astonishment that Daudet's novel "Kings in Exile," which is most certainly a masterpiece of impressionism, should be so powerfully written, as it incontestably is.

"Some parasitical episodes—for there are some—do not prevent the 'Kings in Exile' from proving that it contains some of those qualities which we regret not having been able to find in 'Le Nabab' or 'Jack', which in itself, nevertheless, was a great drama. . . . No one more than he, among the contemporary novelists of his class, recoils, from instinct and from system, from this drama all in one piece, a drama which draws all that is dramatic in it from the play of the characters alone, from the shock of inimical passions alone, a drama which keeps straight on its way, crashing and thundering through obstacles,

and enticing the reader into its movement, . . . which is at once feverish, simple, and violent. Is it a fault of his nature? Is it a quality of his talent? Yes, perhaps. It is difficult to say, as M. Daudet commands our intense interest by means of so many other good qualities, and we are permitted to refrain from a decision, for it is to entirely different objects and from entirely different sources that he is going to draw our feeling. . . .

"A philosopher was present at the first night of some piece or other and he was applauding furiously. 'What!' said his neighbor, 'do you find this play well written?' 'No,' replied Diderot, for it was he, 'it is not well written, but it is remarkably good for the purpose of acting!' Let us say in our turn of the novels of M. Daudet: 'If they are not well written, they are magnificently painted; they are living, and they will live.'

"Let me try to represent M. Daudet at work. He holds his pen in his hand, and his eyes are wandering about the room; they are following through space a phantom still unfixed, a landscape that still shimmers; the contours of the portrait and the outlines of the landscape are as yet indefinite; but they are beginning to define themselves, called forth, so to speak, from the shadows and snatched from the fog that enveloped them, by the persistence, at once imperious and gentle, of the gaze that attracts them; a first line has suddenly fully disclosed itself, and with a nervous and almost involuntary movement, as rapid and as fugitive as the apparition itself, M. Daudet has noted it down. Lines and configurations are growing complicated, cross and recross one another, and even clash, but M. Daudet continues. And such is the surety of his hand and of his eye, or rather so exactly correspondent are their sensations, the continuous action of exterior objects upon the eye and the continuous impression of the eye upon the nervous hand, that from this mixture of forms, this kaleidoscopic shadow of a picture, one word, one line at the end of a chapter, at the bottom of a page, will suddenly evolve and infuse, into the whole, life itself.

"This is the peculiar gift of M. Daudet, and because it is so rare, because it alone would suffice to distinguish an artist



or a writer, we do not hesitate to multiply our reservations. 'Far from talking equivocally,' said a great master of art, 'it is, on the contrary, effectively clear and definite to circumscribe so distinctly and show so clearly and sharply that which is certain, that that which is doubtful in any way is not touched by the decision.'

"That which is doubtful in this case is that 'Les Rois en Exile' satisfies the conditions of a determined classification; and that which is certain, is that we are in the presence of a work which, no matter by what name you call it, is of a rare originality. That which is doubtful, again, is that M. Daudet is a novelist in the ordinary and accepted sense of the word; that which is certain is that he is most surely an artist, that he is most surely a poet."

And here we get the definition of impressionism:

"It is this mixture in him [M. Daudet] of the artist and the poet that I attempt to place or characterize in one word, when I call him an *impressionist in fiction*. Do not stop at the word, though it is a little bizarre, and be certain that despite the many easy and careless railleries it is so often subjected to, it does represent an idea. *Classicism* and *romanticism* represent nothing to us today. But they did represent ideas about 1830, and ideas between which the age has been forced to choose. Entered into common custom and usage and become mere catchwords as they have, there is need today of only one word to distinguish them particularly and to serve as a label for them. The word *impressionism* will disappear in its turn, but, while awaiting its fate, at the present time it means something; and you can not expel it from usage before its representative works, and the critics after them, have decided whether it contains more error than truth or not. Do not form any prejudices, favorable or unfavorable, but wait."

M. Daudet, it is decided, is an impressionist, as a result of the combination of poet and artist which he represents.

Let us take another critical glance at the writing of an impressionist. Very often, we may notice, he puts his narrative into the imperfect tense; we are immediately struck with the singularity of his style, but we lay it to the erratic fancy of

a man who is a poet, an artist, and an impressionist. Perhaps we are right. We can go on and dissect this peculiar style, with the assistance of M. Brunetière. He says:

"If you look a little closer you will find that is the method of procedure of none but a painter. The imperfect tense, here, serves to prolong the duration of the action expressed by the verb and stops it—makes it stand motionless—after a fashion, before the very eyes of the reader. 'Without a cent, without a crown, without a wife, without a mistress, he was making a singular appearance while coming down the stair.' Change to the perfect—the *fit*, the 'made'—if you will. . . . The perfect is purely narrative, the imperfect is picturesque; it obliges you to follow your character all the while he is descending the stairway."

As we follow the pages of M. Brunetière, we begin to perceive to what a great extent the effect of impressionism is due to changes in the grammatical construction of a work like any of M. Daudet's. The suppression of the conjunction and the frequent use of the demonstrative adjective are scarcely worth mentioning, yet they play an important part in the production of certain effects about which none but an able critic could do aught but generalize. Daudet has also, by the suppression of the verb lent a striking effect and significance to lines that otherwise would have been, not commonplace, but remarkable.

"It is still and always for the same reason," says M. Brunetière, "that, all through the novel, thought and sentiment are translated into the language of sensation. . . . In fact, it is only sensation that can speak to the senses; sounds to the ears, colors to the eyes. It would then be necessary, for every thought or sentiment that one wished to express, to find a sensation exactly corresponding, and of various sensations that do correspond, to select one that will appeal to all the world, one that will recall to all the world an old experience, or at least the outlines, if I may use the expression, of an experience easy to fill in. The impression of a flaming fire after a short walk in the bitter cold, for instance, and the unmistakable sensation, is something that everybody has had a chance to experience."

Continuing with the subject of the use of words and

phrases in this manner, and for the production of similar effects, M. Brunetière says:

"It is certain that M. Daudet knows his own language. It is even easy to see that he can sound its resources to the bottom; but the vocabulary—which was not exactly invented for the purpose of painting—ceases to suffice him, and for what we are accustomed to call correctness, the harmony of phraseology, the equilibrium of construction, he cares nothing; he never thought of them, provided he was able to relate what he saw, and relate it as he saw it."

In considering Daudet as the master of his own school, M. Brunetière was not mistaken, for it is in those very things wherein Delille, Gautier, and the disciples of the materialists fail, that Daudet has sublimely succeeded. Daudet's descriptions have always invariably their *raison d'être*, and this *raison d'être* is no more than to put us on more familiar terms with his characters.

"The descriptions of M. Daudet," says M. Brunetière, "have no other nor any more interesting object than to untangle, and in untangling to hold up to our eyes the delicate and subtle network of cause and effects wherein are engendered the diversity of characters, the contrariety of actions, and the eternal complexity of life. Pay fast attention to this, for it is here in this art, up to the present time entirely materialistic, that psychology is beginning to glide and stir, a psychology that is subtle and over-refined, I would almost say a sickly psychology, but yet a psychology."

This is one of the secrets of M. Daudet's remarkable influence, and a reason that will soon become evident to more writers than are able to discover it at present. Moreover, he has understood that great secret of popularity—refined and possibly somewhat limited popularity, which, nevertheless, contains more of the elements of long living than any other, and has interested himself in his characters as few other men have. He did not create them, but, as M. Brunetière says, "He met them, and having met them, it seemed to him that they were worthy of his observation and of his brush. Has he suc-



ceeded in making you know them as he has known them? Then he has gained his desire; his work is completed."

"But let us add a last trait," says the critic; "this painter was born a poet, and he has always remained one. Far from affecting the disdainful impossibility that certain of our contemporary novelists affect for this character—the author of 'Madame Bovary,' for example—really as if they feared to appear to be the dupes of their own imaginations or the accomplices of our emotions, M. Daudet lives and suffers with his. Assuredly there are few persons in that novel, 'Kings in Exile', who are able to retain the sympathies of the reader; there is hardly one who is exempt from some little weakness or fault which makes him almost ridiculous in our eyes. . . . But of all these people, some ridiculous, others more than odious, there is not one in whom M. Daudet does not take a vivid interest. . . . Our fathers had a beautiful expression, which we are on the eve of losing; they praised in the writer his 'knowledge of the human heart', that is to say, his experience of the double nature that we all have within us. . . . Tell me what still keeps close to our hearts today such books as 'Gil Blas', 'Manon Lescaut', 'Candide', and 'La Nouvelle Héloïse', unless it is that you meet, written on every page, the experience of man, and of the true, real man, who, no matter how much he may be disguised by new costumes, whom fashion dresses according to the frivolity of the period, does not vary one jot in his feelings, his passions, or the mystery of his many contradictions."

Such, indeed, are the characters of M. Daudet, who is admittedly at the head of the impressionists of the age.

M. Brunetière, after remarking this fact again, concludes his essay with the words: "M. Daudet, among our contemporary novelists, is one of the very few who are worthy to live, survive, and endure."

## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

ATTORNEY-GENERAL KNOX's prompt and energetic opposition to Senator Foraker's amendment to the Sherman law reveals the real spirit of the administration on the trust question. In his last message, the President devoted much space to proclaiming the innocent intent of the new department toward corporations. He took great pains to assure corporations that none but the very wicked would be punished. The purpose of Senator Foraker's amendment was to remove the barbaric features from the Sherman act, and thus reduce it to reasonable law. This fierce opposition from the Attorney-General of course means that the administration is afraid of losing its reputation as a "trust-buster". And yet, Mr. Roosevelt and his friends are surprised that the interests of the country should prefer some other candidate. In a toss-up for the nomination, the business interests might, perchance, get some one who is more conservative, but it would be difficult to get any one who is more disquieting. Business prosperity needs peace.

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IT MUST be a little disquieting to President Roosevelt to have one man after another decline to be chairman of the national committee to conduct his campaign. There are enough good reasons why Senator Hanna should have declined. He has had all the responsibility of two campaigns, but Ex-Governor Crane of Massachusetts, who is a man after the President's own heart, was hardly expected to decline. There ought to have been some one to save the President from the almost humiliating experience of having to call in Quay. Quay's methods of politics are, to say the least, so unlike Mr. Roosevelt's that it seems unfair that Mr. Roosevelt should have to rely on Quay to run his Campaign—a man who was charged with stealing the state funds and is at least believed by everybody to be one of the most unsavory elements in American politics. It would not have seemed more out of place, had he been a Republican, to have called in Croker, but, if the President intends to win by whatever methods may be

necessary, then Quay may be a good man. He certainly will never be suspected of having any scruples about doing whatever is necessary to win. Yet this is not quite what we have learned to expect of President Roosevelt.

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APROPOS of our new treaty with China, whereby the citizens of the United States are permitted to reside and pursue trade and industries in certain Chinese ports, the *Journal of Commerce* thinks that China is much more generous, if not more Christian, than the United States. Instead of imitating China's generosity in this matter, we pass the Chinese exclusion law and prohibit Chinese laborers from coming to this country at all.

There seems to be nothing on earth, or in the heavens above, or waters below, that the *Journal of Commerce* would not let come into this country. It wants free trade, free importation of Chinese labor, free immigration, and free everything, except prosperity, in the United States. Of course the *Journal* does not intend to be opposed to prosperity, but its theory of *laissez-faire* is so inborn and so ground into its constitution that it does not think the free importation of Chinese labor, or the unlimited immigration of cheap European labor, or the importation of the product of these cheap laborers abroad, would be the least injury to our prosperity. Fortunately, it has never been able to convince the American people of the soundness of its point of view. If our public policy ever was sound upon any question, it was upon the exclusion of Chinese laborers; and our immigration policy would be much sounder if we could exclude immigration from Europe for five years, and then restrict it to all who have the economic equivalent of a year's American wages when they land.

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THE CHAMBERLAIN protection movement is now taking definite form in the appointment of a tariff commission. The national character of the movement is easily reflected in the character of the Commission. According to the *London Times*: "It is not a commission of theorists or politicians. It is a commission, in the main, of British business men who are



leaders of industry, and there is no member of it who can not speak with the recognized authority of practical knowledge about some important element in the conditions of trade and industrial existence in these islands. The steel and iron industries and the coal industry are strongly represented."

The first name on the list of the commission is Mr. Charles Allen, chairman of the Bessemer Iron and Steel Company, followed by a half column of the representatives of the leading and most successful manufacturing firms in England; and, what is more to the point, it represents all parties in politics. The *Times* further informs us that letters are pouring in from all parts of the country, and that all lines of business and professions are volunteering to give to the commission the fullest information. In most cases they invite free access to their books. All this shows that there is not merely a political but a business, and really a national, feeling rapidly growing, into conviction that the free trade policy must be revised, and revised on the basis of broad, full information and with utter disregard of the free trade dogma which, to Englishmen, has come to be almost a superstition.

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IN A SPEECH before the Union League Club, Ex-Secretary Root made a vigorous defense of Mr. Roosevelt as a safe president. Ex-Secretary Root is a powerful speaker, and can make a convincing argument, if he has any material to work with. The striking feature of his speech in this instance was the emphasis with which he proclaimed his faith in the President as a safe national executive, and the utter absence of evidence of the fact. On the point of the President's safety, he said:

Men say he is not safe! He is not safe for the men who wish to prosecute selfish schemes for the public's detriment. He is not safe for the men who wish the government conducted with greater reference to campaign contributions than to the public good. He is not safe for the men who wish to drag the president of the United States into a corner and make whispered arrangements which they dare not have shown by their constituents.

There is a better way to protect property, to protect capital, and to protect great enterprises than by the buying of legislators. There is

a better way to deal with labor and keep it from rising into the tumult of unregulated and resistless mobs than by starving it or by buying or corrupting its leaders. There are some things to be thought of besides the speculations of the hour.

All these generalities show how very little Mr. Root could find to justify his plea. His address is most significant evidence, not merely that the public is regarding the President as unsafe, but the friends of the President begin to realize this fact; and the more they try to explain away the fact, the clearer it becomes that the fear is well grounded.

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SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE Wilson seems to have disturbed the economic thinking of the *Journal of Commerce* by expressing the view that this country should buy nothing abroad that it can raise or produce at home. This the *Journal of Commerce* thinks a very home-spun, a very belated economic doctrine. Pray, what would it have us do? Would it have us buy from abroad what we can produce at home, and refrain from producing products for our own consumption for fear we might disturb the productive interests of foreign countries? If this is what it really wants, where would it have us stop? We once could not manufacture cotton, or silk, or oil, or tin; we could not manufacture machinery of any kind. Was the development of these industries in the United States an error? Would the *Journal of Commerce* have had us avoid all this, and remain farmers and coal-miners, and buy the little we want in these lines from England? If not, what does its objection to Secretary Wilson mean?

Of course, the *Journal of Commerce* is not unpatriotic, nor really opposed to the industrial development of this country; yet all it says and does on this subject points in that direction. The truth is that the economic mind of the *Journal* is so saturated with the free trade dogma that it can see no good in anything that does not come by way of free trade. This view is neither scientific nor statesmanlike; it is not even good ethics; but since it is the only view that the *Journal of Commerce* seems capable of entertaining, in view of its most excellent intentions, it must be considered as innocent error.

Yet, one would think that experience would count for something with such an able publication.

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MR. HEARST is seeking the Democratic nomination for president on the ground that he is opposed to feudalism. By feudalism, he has recently explained in an interview, he means the growth of trusts which is going to develop a sort of feudal control over all the community.

Of course the claims of Mr. Hearst to the nomination should be considered on their merits. There are two facts connected with Mr. Hearst and they are pretty nearly all of significance that the world knows about him. One is that he has a very rich mother and he has had free use of millions; and, second, he has used these millions to publish sensational, scandalizing newspapers. The monuments of Mr. Hearst's statesmanship are the *New York Journal*, the *Chicago American* and the *San Francisco American*, papers that are always printed in the most sensational manner, with red or green ten-inch type, filled with scandal, stirring up social strife, feeding class prejudice, and berating everybody who has money or position. These papers are a scandal to the journalism of the United States. They have neither honor, morals, political principle, or economic social purpose. They live upon sensation, and are devoted to its creation and feed social discord and disruption.

It must be admitted, however, that in this field Hearst has been a success. He has certainly given to the United States more scandalously sensational papers, and with apparent financial success, than anybody else in that field. As a feeder of social prejudice and a debaser of journalism, he is at the head of his class. If these are the qualifications for president of the United States, and what the Democratic party would really like, it should by all means support Mr. Hearst. His equal for this kind of work may not be found elsewhere.

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IN THE RECENT election in Australia, the labor vote has created almost a revolution in the composition of parliament. According to the report in the *London Times*, the labor repre-



sentation in the senate was doubled. In the lower house, it was greatly increased. Victoria, which was the protective province before the adoption of the new constitution, has been even more radical in its change of representation, the labor vote having increased there even more than in New South Wales. Among the things affected by this increase of labor representation, is the certainty of no reduction of the tariff. That has been the great question in Australia, New South Wales having always been free trade and Victoria protective. It was expected that under the new constitution Australia would be free trade. The increase of the labor representation has surely defeated that idea.

Another aspect of this election, however, and perhaps the most serious one is that the labor vote, especially in Victoria, is strongly socialistic. The influence of the Fabian missionaries from London, under the leadership of Tom Mann, has instilled into the labor ranks in Victoria the socialistic spirit. Among the measures that are expected to be tried in the coming parliament are compulsory arbitration, the confirmation of the color line or white labor policy, and the adoption of old age insurance. The Chamberlain policy of imperial protection appears to be approved, and thus Australia is in line for England's new movement.

If the labor movement gets the upper hand or even the balance of power in the Australian parliament, so as to control its policy, we shall have an illustration of what the socialist idea will really do when it comes face to face with the practical propositions of every-day life. There have been several experiments in this country in small cities electing socialist and labor mayors, but, thus far, they have not been a striking success. Unfortunately, they have seldom elected men of strong character or with very clear ideas. Some of the propositions in the Australian program are rational and progressive, especially those that call for a continuance of the tariff policy and the adoption of old age insurance for laborers.

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AT HIS DOLLAR dinner with the Nebraska Democrats, Mr. Bryan served notice on the so-called conservatives that there

is to be no receding from the Kansas City platform. Those who think his visit to Europe and his impossibility as a candidate for the third time have modified his attitude toward the Democrats who defeated him in 1896 and 1900, are entirely in error. His speech at that dinner makes it very clear that he is a "stand-patter." It must be admitted that Mr. Bryan has the merit of consistency. He believed in the Kansas City platform; he believes in it yet. He appears to have learned nothing since and forgotten nothing. In this respect, he is exactly like Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Olney. If Mr. Bryan is nominated, the Cleveland and Olney people will surely try to defeat him; and it is about as safe to say that if Mr. Cleveland or Mr. Olney is nominated, Mr. Bryan will try to defeat him; and the odds are in favor of his doing it.

To be fair about it, it is a little presumptuous for a handful of men who had no standing in the Democratic conventions of 1896 and 1900, and did not support the candidate, to pretend that they are the real leaders of the party. If there is to be any party integrity at all, the majority at national conventions must be the recognized authority on party policy. Those who desert and, under the subterfuge of making an independent nomination, really help the other side, can hardly be called the real leaders of the party. There is no organization, economic, political, moral, social, or religious, that would recognize such egotistical presumption. According to party ethics, Mr. Bryan is right; that those who deserted under the two last campaigns should take a modest place in the rear seats, if they come back to the fold at all. If Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Olney, or Mr. Hill should be candidates for the nomination, it is quite safe to predict that they will be conducted to a modest place in the rear, and, if by any hocus-pocus they should get the nomination, they would get lost at the polls. The free silver idea is, if not dead, in abeyance; but the people throughout the great West who believed in that idea have not forgiven those Democrats who deserted the party and defeated its candidates twice in succession. Such candidates might carry the South, but they could not carry a single Western state, and very few, if any, Northern or Eastern states, and there is no good reason

why they should. The surest way to elect a Republican president is to nominate one of these Democratic deserters on the other ticket.

The following statement is furnished to GUNTON'S by W. H. Allen, of Brooklyn:

For more than ten years, now, it has been boldly asserted that the panic of 1893 was due to the return of securities by foreign investors who had become alarmed about our silver policy. "In his article on "Our International Indebtedness" in the *Yale Review* (November, 1900) Mr. N. T. Bacon says, "The heaviest losses of English investors were in the panic of 1893, which was immensely aggravated by their dumping all manner of securities on the New York Stock Exchange for anything they would bring."

Some time ago, I determined to get at the truth of the matter, and for this purpose I examined the market reports of the *Evening Post* and other New York papers that boast of the accuracy of their financial news. This examination brings out the astonishing fact that instead of there having been this immense liquidation, there was actually an excess of purchases of stocks for foreign account on the Stock Exchange in eleven months out of the twelve, in 1893. Here are the transactions in stocks for foreign account on the New York Stock Exchange, by months, for the entire year:

	Excess of Purchases	Excess of Sales
1893	Shares	Shares
January .....	61,000	
February .....	97,000	
March .....	68,000	
April .....	86,000	
May .....	140,000	
June .....	45,000	
July .....	95,000	
August .....	107,000	
September .....	5,000	
October .....		16,000
November .....	40,000	
December .....	76,000	
Net excess of purchases...		804,000
	820,000	820,000



Mr. Bacon is considered the very highest authority on this subject of foreign liquidation, and his later article in the *New York Times* of January 5, 1900, is pronounced by that paper to be "the most careful and enlightening discussion of the mooted question whether we owe Europe or Europe owes us that has ever been undertaken." But these market reports prove that he has never investigated the real facts in the matter. His only authority is the mere say-so of the Wall Street clique that wanted to saddle the responsibility for the panic upon the Sherman law.

These Stock Exchange reports for 1893 should be given the widest publicity, not only to show the American people how grossly they have been misled in this matter, but also because it is the same Wall Street clique that originated this fraud that is now shouting for asset currency.

## QUESTION BOX

### Some Moral Aspects of Protection

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have been a reader of your magazine for years, and have been much interested in your arguments in favor of protection. There is one phase of the question which I do not remember seeing discussed in the magazine, and that is the corruption of politics by those interested in securing protection for their industries. To enable you to understand my position, will you answer these questions for me:

1. Do not manufacturers furnish large sums of money to elect candidates for the upper and lower houses of congress for the purpose of securing favorable tariff legislation?

2. Do not such men, when so elected, act more as attorneys for manufacturers than as representatives of the people?

3. If members of congress are so elected, is it not probable that they are inferior men in morals and ability?

4. Is not the securing of protection through campaign contributions more likely to be influenced by greed than sound economy?

5. Does not protection tend toward socialism?

6. Why should a tariff be maintained on petroleum and its products?

7. Does not the use of large sums of money by protected interests to secure the election of their favorite candidates to represent their interests tend to sacrifice the political integrity of the people for the purpose of commercial prosperity?

ROBERT GLENN SMITH.

Grant's Pass, Oregon. Dec. 16, 1903.

Six of these seven questions, it is plain, relate really to the same point.

1. It is true that manufacturers contribute to the election expenses of those candidates for congress that are favorable to tariff legislation. But that does not necessarily imply any improper motive on either side. Other people besides manufacturers also contribute money for the same purpose. The motive for aiding in the election of a protectionist party is not special benefits to special industries, so much as its influence upon the business prosperity of the whole country. Farmers, merchants, railway builders, laborers, and, in fact, all persons in all lines of industry, trade, and commerce are benefited by the general prosperity; yet only a very few of them are directly benefited by any particular tariff schedule. It is because the

advantage is to the industrial conditions of the whole nation, rather than to any particular industry, that a majority of the people of the United States supports a tariff policy. Protection is supported as a national policy, and not as a system of special favors.

It is only by misrepresenting the nature of protection that it is made to appear in the light of favoritism. That view has been presented by free-traders for the purpose of making protection odious in the eyes of the people. England has, for sixty years, been governed by that view, but she is now discovering her error. The movement there, which is now stirring the whole nation for a return to protection, is based on the growing belief that protection is a principle of wise national policy.

2. There may be instances where men, elected on a tariff issue, act "more as attorneys for special interests than as representatives of the people", but that is quite exceptional. Even this is not more often true with regard to the tariff than with regard to any other subject. Those elected in the interest of free trade are quite as apt to be in the special service of importers. Under representative institutions there are, unfortunately, always some few who are governed by sordid motives and are subject to corrupt methods. But this has no special relation to tariffs. We find in state legislatures and in city governments, and even in trade-unions, just as much as in congress; and with regard to political patronage and public contracts, as much as the tariff. This is a defect in the general standard of political morals rather than the influence of any given subject. On the whole, there is as much patriotic interest and personal integrity displayed in dealing with the tariff as with other subjects.

3 Members of congress are no more likely to be "inferior men in morals and ability", when elected on a tariff issue, than when elected on a money issue, or on an anti-trust, or on an annexation, or on a war issue. On the contrary, they are likely, on the whole, to be abler men, because in a hotly-contested tariff campaign it requires men of ability to discuss convincingly the tariff question before a critical public when under



constant fire from the other side ; whereas, on many other questions, very superficial talk suffices. Observe the members of state legislatures, and of municipal assemblies. They are distinctly inferior, as a whole, to members of congress. As a matter of fact, some of the ablest men in the country are in the two houses of congress.

4. Representative government would be impossible without political campaigns, and campaigns would be impossible without funds, which must be made up of voluntary contributions. There are really no good grounds for believing that protection is secured more "by greed than sound economy", or interest in public welfare. Public opinion may not always be wise, it may not always be founded in "sound economy", but it is always influenced by considerations of public welfare, and never by personal greed.

5. No; on the contrary, protection is essentially the opposite of socialism. The very principle of socialism is for the government to do things for the people. The principle of protection is to guard the opportunities for the people to act for themselves.

6. There is no tariff on petroleum. It is on the free list.

7. The first part of this question has already been answered. The integrity of the people can never be sacrificed by commercial prosperity. Nothing promotes national morality like national prosperity. Without prosperity there can be little if any progress in the social welfare and moral character of the people.

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### Books on Industrial Questions

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Would you kindly advise me if you can recommend any books on the following topics:

1. The struggle of the Burghers in England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries?
2. The right to vote by the English people; the rising of the serfs and the wage system?
3. The attitude of landlords and manufacturers of England on the repeal of the corn laws and the factory acts?

4. Also, if you have any books concerning the subject dealt with in the last paragraph on page 71 of your Fifth Lecture in the Nineteenth Annual Course?

5. Also, have you any books that agree with your remarks on pages 87, 88, and 89 of your Fifth Lecture in the Eighteenth Annual Course; or any on Municipal Improvements?

JOHN HANNIGAN.

New Bedford, Mass. Dec. 22, 1903.

1. For information on the first question, we should suggest Guizot's History of Civilization, Hallam's History of the Middle Ages, Green's History of the English People, and Gunton's Wealth and Progress.

2. Hallam's Middle Ages; Roger's Work and Wages, and Industrial and Commercial History of England; McCarthy's History of Our Own Times, and Jephson's The Platform, Its Rise and Progress.

3. Webb's History of Trade-Unionism; Taylor's History of the Factory System; Part. IV. of Gunton's Wealth and Progress; and Gunton's (four) Lecture Bulletins on Social Reform Movements of Nineteenth Century England.

4. The two books by Rogers mentioned above, History of the Factory System and Industrial and Commercial History of England; Ashley's Economic History; and Gibbin's Industrial History of England.

5. Our correspondent must refer to pages 77, 78, and 79, as the pages given by him do not occur in this lecture. The subjects treated in these three pages are so varied that only general references can be given. On the general subject, he would be interested in Wright's Industrial Evolution of the United States, and Ely's Evolution of Industrial Society, and he would find the matters generally treated in Gunton's Wealth and Progress, and in the same author's Trusts and the Public and Principles of Social Economics.

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### Rockefeller's Donations and the Price of Oil

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Within a few weeks some of the newspapers have stated that the Standard Oil Company has advanced the price of crude oil several times, and that each rise in the price of crude oil has been

followed by a rise in the price of refined oil. These reports have been a text for many sarcastic editorial paragraphs about Mr. Rockefeller's giving money for benevolent purposes, and then putting up the price of oil and getting it back out of poor people. I have heard so-called Christian persons make some very uncharitable remarks about Mr. Rockefeller after reading these reports.

Now, will you please give, in the next number of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, the facts in the case? Is there, in your judgment, any legitimate reason for the rise in the price of oil? Does the Standard Oil Company own any oil wells; or does it buy oil from the owners of wells? Is the difference between the price of crude and refined oil any more than it was two years ago? And, finally, what are the names of the principal companies that compete with the Standard; and what proportion of the total do they produce?

So many persons have read Miss Tarbell's romance about the Standard Oil Company that there is a general impression that Mr. Rockefeller is the whole company, and that he deserves to be hanged as the arch enemy of mankind.

C. F. SWAN.

Boston, Dec. 15, 1903.

Of course it is impossible to prevent superficial editors from writing silly paragraphs about Mr. Rockefeller's unchristian benevolence, and so long as the masses of newspaper readers like to have such stuff, they will continue to be told that Mr. Rockefeller puts up the price of oil in order that he may make big contributions to the church. Such statements should be disregarded. They are mere flings, and do not convey either facts or legitimate criticisms.

As to the questions our correspondent asks regarding the price of oil. In the first place, Mr. Rockefeller, or the Standard Oil Company, does not own the oil wells. The company is the greatest buyer of crude oil in the world, and, in fixing the price it will give for crude oil, it has established the most equitable system. There is nothing like it in any other industry. It does what no other concern does; it gives the same price, and offers exactly the same terms, to the smallest oil producer that it gives to the very largest. Its system of purchasing crude oil keeps in existence scores, nay hundreds, of small well-owners that would otherwise be driven entirely out of business. That was fully explained in the last issue.\*

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\*See GUNTON'S MAGAZINE for February—pages 102-3.



As to the price of refined oil during the last few years. The cost of almost every element that enters into the cost of producing oil has been increased. The cost of labor is greater; all iron and coal and other raw materials used in refining, etc., have advanced in price, and the expense of transportation is greater. The mere difference between the price of crude oil and the price of refined does not tell the whole story. All the other elements of cost have to be reckoned with in the production of oil, just as in the production of anything else.

The public mind is in a very highly inflamed state on the question of large corporations, and therefore every statement, regardless of its truth, that is made against large corporations, especially against the Standard Oil Company, is eagerly accepted and eagerly presented by the ordinary newspapers, which live on feeding public sentiment, whether true or false. The newspapers are like grocers; they try to give the people what they want; and so long as the people seem to desire scandal about corporations and rich people, the newspaper editors may be relied upon to give it to them.

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### Do the No-Rent Producers Govern Wages?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In a recent article in the *Chicago Record-Herald*, criticizing an address on labor by Carroll D. Wright, Henry George, Jr., argued that the only remedy for low wages is the abolition of rent on land. All wages throughout society, he claims, are governed by the wages of laborers working for themselves on land for which they give nothing. He says:

"Upon the wages obtained in the primary occupations will the wages in all the superimposed industries of whatever kind be proportioned, falling as that primary basic rate of wages falls and rising as that rate rises. . . . Put more formally, the law of wages is this: Wages depend upon the margin of cultivation—upon what labor can obtain from the best land open to it without the payment of rent. If the margin of cultivation extends, leaving increasingly inferior lands open to labor in the primary industries without the payment of rent, then, of course, the produce of labor must grow less, which is to say that wages must grow less; and when wages in the lowest stratum of the social pyramid fall, wages in all the other strata must fall accordingly. Private ownership of land makes the available land open to

labor without the payment of rent of less and less productivity. Labor's power is greater, but the materials it works upon are poorer. Hence, wages in the primary occupations remain stationary or fall; and as they fall, all other wages depending upon them fall also."

Is Mr. George right in his position regarding wages?

Chicago.

J. T. W.

The difficulty with the statement here quoted from Henry George, Jr., is that it does not accord with the facts. There was indeed an excuse for the elder George to say this. He was writing a book, and he formulated a proposition and he laid down this law of wages, namely: That all wages in all industries throughout the community are governed by the wages or the earnings (which he regarded as the same thing) of laborers who cultivate land that could be had free;—that is, without purchase or payment of rent. He took it for granted that this was the case and wrote his whole book from that point of view. Perhaps it is in a spirit of loyalty that his son repeats the same thing.

Henry George made this announcement twenty-five years ago, and it is not legitimate to repeat a proposition which is twenty-five years old, without at least having subjected it again to the test of verification. It is a fact, which everybody who cares to take note of experience knows, that the wages of mechanics and artists in the cities are not governed by what the laborers at the circumference of civilization can produce from free land. For instance, the wages of the carpenters, brick-layers, and masons of New York city have no relation whatever to the production of farmers on the banks of the Missouri. They are not even remotely affected by it. The wages of the laborers in New York are governed by the conditions that surround them. If the reverse were true, then wages would never be higher here than they are at the extreme circumference of civilization. Everybody knows that they are; and, therefore, why pretend to reason on such a proposition?

From this assumption, which neither Mr. George nor his father seems to have taken the pains to verify, they argue, as Mr. George is here quoted, that, as land becomes private prop-

erty and people have to go farther and farther from civilization to get free land or better land, their net income declines ; and, with the decline of the net income of the no-rent producers, the wages of all other laborers fall. This statement itself ought to defeat the theory, because land does more and more become private property and wages do not fall. On the contrary, taken for any considerable period, they constantly tend to rise. The truth is that, in the whole progress of civilization, the tendency has been steadily greater for land to become private property. The government of this country, for instance, had to offer land to individuals to induce them to cultivate it. That is the way this country has been settled up, the way land has become productive and valuable, cities developed and the farms made fertile, the nation made rich and populous, and, decade by decade, as this is secured, wages have risen higher and higher. All that is necessary, is to compare the wages of laborers in any calling of 50 or 60 years ago with those of today, and it will be seen that the two facts have gone hand in hand, and the growth of private property in land and the increase of rent because of the increase in value and the rise in wages.

Briefly, Mr. George's proposition, as quoted by our correspondent, is unsound in economics, and the results deduced from it are at variance with all the facts in the case. Wages are not governed either by private property in land or by rent ; and the wages of the frontiersman do not govern the wages of the city mechanic. Consequently, the millenium promised by Mr. George in the abolition of rent is not likely to come.



## BOOK REVIEWS

ROBERT MORRIS, PATRIOT AND FINANCIER. By Ellis Paxton Oberholtzer, Ph.D. Cloth; 372 pages. \$3.00 net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Robert Morris is one of the great names in American history, and he is certainly deserving of at least an adequate if not a lucid and brilliant biography. The work before us, however, is an example of how books should not be made. It is nothing more than the crudest throwing together of material, without regard to effect or literary style. The result is a mere mass of details about the great financier, which is exceedingly tiresome reading. The author seems to have had little conception of his work and little appreciation of the notable man whose life he was writing.

Any book, however, upon the man who achieved great success in a great work where others had failed, and a work upon which really depended the success of the American arms in the rebellion against England, would be interesting of itself, and it must be admitted that Dr. Oberholtzer has brought together, in his haphazard method, a great deal of interesting matter that may some day be availed of by a more skilful hand.

It is not easy, of course, to write interesting biography of financiers. When the time comes for a life of John Pierpont Morgan, or one of the Rothschilds, it will be difficult to make a readable book, no matter how great may be its importance. But Robert Morris is a unique figure in the history of the world. He stands absolutely alone, by reason of the peculiar difficulties of the task he assumed, and by reason also of the tremendous significance of that task, and the wonderful success with which he accomplished it. Certainly a biographer with skill and appreciation should be able to do something worth while with such a subject.

The effect is not produced upon the reader that he is reviewing the life of a master financier, but that he is hastily skimming undigested accounts of a man who was exceedingly foolish in private, and not particularly brilliant in public, life.

What we know of Morris's great achievements, previous to the reading of this biography, is responsible for any interest, and not the setting of a new and alluring picture. We are told that the origin of Mr. Morris was "as humble as it is safe for fates and destinies to allot to great men." This, of course, is arrant nonsense, as so many great men have come from obscure parentage. When fortune wishes a truly great man, she seems to make it a prerequisite that all of his antecedents should have been utterly obscure, so that he himself shall be unique and planetary.

It is unfortunate that the writer was compelled to lay stress, in this period of intense Americanism, upon Mr. Morris's ineradicable favoritism for England. It is recorded that even in his later years, after his long service and sufferings for America, he used to exclaim, or, as his biographer expresses it "tenderly to muse": "Old England, my native country!" Like many other great American patriots, perhaps even Washington, he long continued to look upon England as his real country.

Of the earlier life of Morris, the book gives very full treatment, although that part of the career of the great financier is not of special interest. Morris's life really began when he undertook the financing of the American revolution. A vivid picture is drawn of the establishment of the Bank of North America, and the methods applied by Morris would now discredit a "wildcat" bank. The biographer writes:

Rather unusual methods were employed until public confidence was established. When silver was borrowed, secret agents of the bank were sent after it to get it and deposit it again. When notes would not circulate at par, and the holders came to the bank to find out what security there was for their paper, they were shown an impressive quantity of silver. The specie was hoisted, lowered, hoisted again, and strewn about the counters. It was reckoned quite necessary to "dazzle the public eye by the same piece of coin multiplied by a thousand reflectors." The note-holders deceived, and thinking that the specie came from some unlimited source, went home with their bills, the value of which was soon generally established. "This institution, I am persuaded," Mr. Morris wrote soon after the bank was opened, "will flourish under the management of honest men and honest measures;

the present directors are such men, and the present system of measures is founded on principles of justice and equity." "The bank," he said another time, "will exist in spite of calumny, operate in spite of opposition, and do good in spite of malevolence."

Morris had, as all workers and thinkers like him have had, great difficulties in getting congress to accede to his plans, and he also had difficulty in raising money from the states to meet current obligations. It was in vain that he appealed repeatedly to both congress and the governors for assistance, and finally, on May 16, 1782, he sent out his famous circular, which stands forever as a reproach upon the methods and men of that period. The following indicates the position assumed by the financier :

Now, sir, should the army disband, and should scenes of distress and horror be reiterated and accumulated, and I again repeat that I am guiltless; the fault is in the states; they have been deaf to the calls of congress, to the clamors of the public creditors, to the just demands of a suffering army, and even to the reproaches of the enemy, who scoffingly declare that the American army is fed, paid, and clothed by France. That assertion, so dishonorable to America, was true, but the kindness of France has its bounds, and our army, unfed, unpaid, and unclothed, will have to subsist itself, or disband itself. This language may appear extraordinary, but at a future day, when my transactions shall be laid bare to public view, it will be justified. This language may not consist with the ideas of dignity which some men entertain. But, sir, dignity is in duty and in virtue, not in the sound of swelling expressions. Congress may dismiss their servants, and the states may dismiss their congress, but it is by rectitude alone that man can be respectable. I have early declared our situation, as far as prudence would permit, and I am now compelled to transgress the bounds of prudence by being forced to declare, that unless vigorous exertions are made to put money into the Treasury, we must be ruined.

One of the most interesting, if disilluioning, things about Morris was that he could be ever so wise in public life, and ever so foolish in private. The great marble mansion that he began to build in Philadelphia, as a monument to his wealth, his fame, and his vanity, is one of the most striking illustrations of human folly in American history. He purchased a block of land, and engaged the services of Major L'Enfant, perhaps the most famous architect then living, and the man



who afterwards laid out the city of Washington, to his perpetual honor, to erect this palatial residence. As the building grew and the bills came in, Morris went to the extent of denying that he had given L'Enfant authority to go to such expense; but it seems apparent that he had given the authority without reckoning the cost. He finally had to write to the architect that, in spite of his inclination to indulge the genius of the builder, instead of inhabiting the house it was quite probable that he would be turned out of doors. This mansion has been known ever since as "Morris's Folly." It cost the owner more than ten times the amount that he had originally estimated, and he never spent a single hour under its roof.

We repeat it is unfortunate that, with so interesting and important a subject for biography, the result should be so inadequate, so inartistic.

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JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY. By John R. Dunlap. The Jeffersonian Society, New York.

The author of this book explains that Jeffersonian Democracy means the democracy of Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, and Abraham Lincoln. It is astonishing that he did not add the name of William Randolph Hearst to this bead-roll of the prophets of the pure faith. It is remarkable that two recent books on Jefferson, one by Mr. Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, and the other by Mr. Dunlap, should have mated like Juno's swans, the proprietor of the *New York Journal* and the great Jefferson. There is a Democratic National Convention this year, and Mr. Hearst would not object to following Jefferson, even to the White House. Mr. Dunlap quotes Jefferson's familiar saying, "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter." So say Mr. Dunlap and Mr. Watson, and so says Mr. Hearst, upon whose shoulders these two historians fancy that Mr. Jefferson's ample cloak has descended.

Mr. Dunlap's book is very personal. It reeks of his redolent personality. He stands out in bas-relief in every sentence. It is composed of an hysterical attack upon almost every

aspect of American society. "Let us lay *bare*," he says, "the *transparent* motives of the politicians who shout protection!" The italics, for once, are ours. The author thinks that Lincoln's description of the government is no longer correct. "It is not," he says "a government of the people, by the people," as Lincoln taught us, but "government of the people by Roosevelt." Like Mr. Watson, he is very severe on the President, largely, it is to be inferred, because Mr. Roosevelt has not a very high estimate of Thomas Jefferson.

Perhaps the most suggestive part of the book is the last; and those who thirst for a flow of soul will turn at once to the chapter entitled "From Julius Cæsar to Thomas Jefferson." This chapter, Mr. Dunlap tells us, "is a simple record of the obvious fact that Julius Cæsar fought the battles, organized the system, and wrote the laws, which have governed Europe since the hour that Cæsar was assassinated." It is a little difficult, from Mr. Dunlap's syntax, to decide whether the battles, or the system, or the laws, or any or all of them, have governed Europe since the assassination of Cæsar, but we leave it to the reader. This marvelous chapter also sets forth a record of the "insurmountable fact" that Mr. Jefferson gave us everything that is worth having in our institutions and policy. A comparison between Julius Cæsar and Thomas Jefferson has long been needed, but was never attempted before.

This book is a worthy companion volume to the one by Mr. Thomas E. Watson, and with it makes up a library on the sage of Monticello that is as complete as it is eloquent and convincing.

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LIST OF BOOKS ON THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, with Chronological List of Maps, etc., in the Library of Congress. By A. P. C. Griffin and P. Lee Phillips, Washington, Government Printing Office.

This is a most valuable bibliography of the Philippine Islands, and shows not only great research and thoroughness, but a commendable zeal in setting before the students of this country all the available sources of information about our new possessions in the Far East.

It will astonish most persons, even those very familiar with the subject, to observe the extraordinary wealth of the literature here tabulated. There are recorded 1715 book titles, 197 government documents, 45 consular reports, and 970 articles in periodicals. One of the most valuable portions of the list is the index and description of maps. The list is preceded by a résumé dealing with the most useful authorities on special topics, such as travels, history, commerce, etc.

The interesting announcement is also made that a supplement to this list will soon appear. This will be a bibliography of the Philippines prepared by Dr. Pardo de Tavera, of Manila, giving a complete list of all the literature of the Philippines in existence.

It is regretfully noted that, in a thorough work of this kind, the lazy rule adopted by the Boston Public Library, at the suggestion of George Ticknor, has been followed—that is, not to correct palpable errors in the written accents of Spanish words occurring in the titles. Despite the fact that these errors are known, the Librarian of Congress thinks it is better to perpetuate than to correct them. This rule of indolence does not strongly commend itself to conscientious students.

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SCHOOL ILIAD: The First Three Books of Homer's Iliad, with Introduction, Commentary, and Vocabulary for the Use of Schools. By Thomas D. Seymour, Hillhouse Professor of Greek in Yale College. Cloth; 135 pages. Ginn & Company, Boston.

The making of books for the use of students of the classics has progressed so wonderfully within quite recent years that it now seems as if the study of Greek and Latin authors could not be anything but a perpetual delight. We know, of course, that such is not the case, and that even modern scholarship has not been able to clothe the subject with sufficient attractiveness to hold the affection or even the interest of students.

It is a remarkable fact that, along with the increasing facilities for the study of the classics and the greater degree of attractiveness with which these studies are presented, there is a falling off in the actual amount and quality of the work



accomplished. It is even possible that Greek and Latin may soon be stricken from the curriculum of almost every university in this country, although such a step would unquestionably be to the intellectual and moral injury of the race. The farther we get from Athens the worse off we are; and the intellect of the human race must always keep Athens in view, both for perpetual refreshment and to see if it has progressed or gone astray.

This book is a model of typography and material. It gives everything necessary for the study of the first three books of the Iliad, in the form of grammar, discussion of style, meter, vocabulary, etc., and it is illustrated throughout in a manner that adds both to the interest and elucidation of the subject. The type used for the printing of the Greek is particularly clear and beautiful, and in fact it would be difficult to suggest an improvement in appearance or contents. It must unquestionably prove of great value both to scholars in the schools and out of the schools, and to all who teach Homer.

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THE THEORY OF ADVERTIZING. By Walter Dill Scott, Ph.D. Cloth; 240 pages. Small, Maynard & Company, Boston.

In opening this book, the reader is perplexed to know whether it is a treatise on psychology or advertizing; but an examination shows that it is both, as the learned author treats this commonplace branch of business from the point of view of psychology. The titles of his chapters suggest a treatise on metaphysics—"Attention," "Association of Ideas," "Suggestion," "Psychological Experiment," "Perception," "Apperception," etc. It is possible that, in his eagerness to place advertizing upon a scientific basis, he has overshot the minds of those energetic young men and young women who are rushing into the business known as "ad-writing."

We doubt very much that the scientific treatment of this matter-of-fact business will prove of value to actual practitioners of the art of advertizing. They form their judgment upon actual facts, and go backward, rather than forward, which would be the scientific method. For instance, when a certain business firm used what is perhaps the most catching

of all phrases—"You press the button and we do the rest," and the world of "ad-writers" saw how taking it proved, there was an immediate rush to imitate it, or to give something "equally as good." Such was also the case when "Do you see that hump?" was put upon the bill-boards.

The book itself looks like a carefully arranged scheme of advertizing certain patent medicines and devices, and it is probable that the author could have made a good "thing" of it if he had charged for space in reproducing these more or less famous "ads." Of course, many of them, if they were reproduced at all, had to be reproduced so that the names and devices of the firms could be read.

In the chapter bearing the confusing title of "The Direct Command," the author brings together a collection of phrases that have bitten deep into the minds of contemporary American consumers. Among these are "Let us start you," "Do not stammer," "Don't shout," "Don't set hens," "Sleep on it thirty nights free."

The book will unquestionably prove of interest to every one engaged in advertizing or writing advertizements, and it may be that when the attempt is made by writers to attack their business from the purely scientific point of view, instead of from the experimental, the result will be found better than it was in the old way.

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MAMZELLE FIFINE. A ROMANCE OF THE GIRLHOOD OF THE EMPRESS JOSEPHINE ON THE ISLAND OF MARTINIQUE. By Eleanor Atkinson. Cloth. 396 pages. \$1.50. D. Appleton & Company, New York.

This is a pretty tale of the girlhood of Josephine on the island of Martinique, where she was the prize of love in that romantic colony of France, as she was destined soon to become in the still more romantic city of Paris.

There is, despite cold and critical history which has played havoc with the reputation of Josephine, something enormously attractive about this woman. She has all the charms of *das Ewig-Weibliche*, which is possessed in its utmost excellence, it is believed, only by French women, although the descriptive

label is "made in Germany". In spite of the fact that we now know her for what she was—a woman without scruple, though with wonderful personal charm, she still remains, to the lovers of romance and legend, a name and a glamour. To all such, this little story will be welcome, as it is charmingly told.

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TITTLBAT TITMOUSE. Abridged by Cyrus Townsend Brady. Cloth; 464 pages. \$1.50. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York and London.

It is a perilous undertaking for any one to attempt to abridge a work that has long been accepted as a standard in its own field. In almost every case, the effect of the book is weakened or lost. It seems that in abridging this famous work of Dr. Warren's, Mr. Brady adopted the expedient of "stripping it of its verbiage and reducing it to something like reasonable limits." Dr. Warren would have something to say in rejoinder as to the charge of "verbiage" and "unreasonable limits," and it is quite probable that those who have read "Ten Thousand a Year," as it came from the hand of Dr. Warren, will not care to read it with its lordly boundaries shorn by Mr. Brady. It would be more satisfactory to skip over prolix passages than to have Mr. Brady's uninspired shears snip them out before the book comes to our hands. In such cases, we always challenge the judgment of the scissors.

To those, however, who have not read "Ten Thousand a Year," and who may not wish to undertake so large a task, this abridgment may be welcome. Mr. Brady has still retained enough of the book to make a good story, although it is not, of course, as good a story as Dr. Warren made it.



## CURRENT COMMENT

**War between Japan and Russia** The government of his Majesty the Emperor of Japan regard the independence and territorial integrity of the empire of Korea as essential to their own repose and safety, and they are consequently unable to view with indifference any action tending to render the position of Korea as insecure.

The successive rejections by the Imperial Russian government by means of inadmissible amendments of Japan's proposals respecting Korea, the adoption of which the Imperial government regard as indispensable to assure the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire, and to safeguard Japan's preponderating interests in the peninsula, together with the successive refusals of the Imperial Russian government to respect China's territorial integrity in Manchuria, which is seriously menaced by their continued occupation of the province notwithstanding their treaty with China and their repeated assurances to other powers possessing interests in those regions, have made it necessary for the Imperial government seriously to consider what measures of defence they are called upon to take.

In the presence of delays which remain largely unexplained and of naval and military activities which it is difficult to reconcile with entirely pacific aims, the Imperial government have occupied in the pending negotiations a degree of forbearance which they believe to be abundant proof of their loyal desire to relieve from their feelings with the Imperial Russian government every cause for further misunderstandings. But finding in their efforts no prospect of securing from the Imperial Russian government an adhesion either to Japan's moderate and unselfish proposals, or to any other proposals likely to establish a firm and enduring peace in the extreme East, the Imperial government have no other alternative than to terminate the present futile negotiations. In adopting that course the Imperial government reserve to themselves the right to take such independent action as they may deem best to consolidate and defend their menaced position, as well as to protect their established rights and legitimate interests.—*Japan's Official Notification to Russia.*

1. A mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Chinese and Korean Empires.

2. A mutual engagement to maintain the principle of an equal opportunity for the commercial industry of all nations with the natives of those countries.

3. A reciprocal recognition of Japan's preponderating interests in Korea and that Russia has special interests in railway enterprises in Manchuria and a mutual recognition of the respective rights of Japan to take measures necessary for the protection of the above-mentioned interests so far as the principle of Article I is infringed.

4. The recognition by Russia of the exclusive rights of Japan to give advice and assistance to Korea in the interest of reform and good government.

5. The engagement on the part of Russia to unimpede the eventual extension of the Korean Railway into Southern Manchuria, so as to connect with Eastern China and the Shanghai-Kwan-Niu-Chwang lines.

The Japanese government, the statement says, failed utterly to see why Russia, who professed no intention of absorbing Manchuria, should be disinclined to insert in the convention a clause in complete harmony with her own repeatedly declared principle respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China. Furthermore, this refusal on the part of the Russian Government impressed the Japanese government all the more with the necessity for the insertion of that clause.

Japan has important commercial interests in Manchuria, and entertains no small hopes of their future development; and politically she has even greater interests there by reason of Manchuria's relations to Korea, so she could not possibly recognize Manchuria as being entirely outside her sphere of interest. These reasons decided Japan absolutely to reject the Russian proposal.

The statement then reviews the successive steps leading up to the final negotiations, and mentions the evident determination of Russia to make the agreement apply entirely to Korea, maintaining its original demand in regard to the non-employment of Korean territory for strategical purposes as well as a neutral zone, but the exclusion of Manchuria from the proposed convention.

The last reply of Russia, the statement continues, was received at Tokio on the 6th of January. In this reply, it is true, Russia proposed to agree to insert the following clause in the proposed agreement:

"The recognition by Japan of Manchuria and its littoral as outside her sphere and interest, while Russia within the limits of that province would not impede Japan or any other power in the enjoyment of rights and privileges acquired by it under existing treaties with China, exclusive of the establishment of a settlement."

But this was proposed to be agreed upon only upon con-

ditions maintaining the clauses regarding a neutral zone in Korean territory and the non-employment of Korean territory for strategical purposes, the conditions whereof were impossible to Japan's acceptance, as had already been fully explained to them. It should further be observed that no mention was made at all of the territorial integrity of China in Manchuria.—*Official Statement of Japan as to Basis for Settlement.*

The breach of diplomatic relations yesterday between Japan and Russia, a breach which means war, opens the last great struggle in the long contest between Europe and Asia. When Martel halted the Arab at Tours, and Batu, the son of Genghis, paused in his Tatar invasion six centuries later, after taking Pesth, before Polish resistance, it looked in either case as if Asia might sweep and swamp modern Europe.

For the last three centuries, since the repulse of the Turks from the siege of Vienna and the organization of the English East India Company, events close together, it has seemed equally clear that all Asia would become, bit by bit, the fief of some European power. All north Asia is held by Russia, and the core and best of south Asia—India—by England. France and England divide the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Persia is under Russian control. The Turkish Empire survives only through the jealousy of the European powers. Unless Japan fought, north China would become an appanage of Russia, and the rest of the empire be ingloriously partitioned between European lands whose population would fill the half of one of the eighteen provinces of the Celestial Empire.

Manchuria and Korea, treaties and the rights of settlement, these are but the mere flying flags of the skirmish line by the side of the great issue which at heart drives Japan into the lists, the last of independent Asiatic lands to fight for the autonomous independence of the yellow race of Asia. Civilized as Japan is, full of European science, learning and discovery, apt at imitating all that Europe has learned and able to add to its better knowledge, Japan is at bottom still Asiatic, pagan, and a believer in the fate, the future, and the full power of the yellow race of Asia.

The sun that shines on the meteor flag of Japan is the setting sun of Asia, close to its end. Whether it is to rise again, the issue of this conflict alone can tell. If Japan wins, or even halts the Russian advance, China will be reorganized under Japanese direction, and a half of Asia and a third of the human race will retain an autonomous self-direction, self-development and self-rule. The free institutions of Japan, superficially similar to our own, but at heart wholly different in



action, aim and achievement, will be the model on which the political growth and policy of the yellow race will be fashioned. The world will not be wholly white, European and Aryan, a blend of Latin, Slav and Teuton. Instead, there will be the counterpoise of other ideals, other letters, another art and a differing social system.

If Russia wins, the Asian sun sets not to rise, and China, like India, Japan, like Turkey, will be but a dependency of the European system, with its parallel and similar force. America to-day has its Asian responsibilities in the Philippines. Heated by this great issue, war begins, a vast melting-pot, into which the peace of the world is to-day cast. What ills and woes, what shock and conflict, may arise from this fell caldron, what land will be marshaled, or what nation led to war or to captivity, no man can tell. One of the world's greatest struggles opens with this morning's news and knowledge of war.—*Philadelphia Press*.

At first glance, the financial position of Russia would seem to be fairly strong. Her public debt—a little more than \$3,300,000,000—is large, but her credit abroad continues to be good; her bonds recommend themselves to prudent and conservative investors—the New York Life Insurance Company, for example, holds \$8,000,000 or \$10,000,000 worth of her guaranteed railway securities; she has recently refunded \$1,400,000,000 of her 5 and 6 per cent. interest-bearing debt at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  and 4 per cent., with an increase of only \$30,000,000 in the principal; and her reserve of gold now amounts to something like \$400,000,000, with an additional sum of \$340,000,000 in circulation. This, on its face, would seem to be an extremely good showing; but it must not be forgotten that the stability of national finances depends ultimately upon the prosperity and earning capacity of the people who compose the nation; and that a government which has despotic power may for a long term of years make a good showing to its creditors while at the same time it is impoverishing its people and exhausting the source from which it draws its supplies.

Seventeen years ago Mr. E. I. Utin, one of the most distinguished lawyers of the St. Petersburg bar, a close observer and a man of wide information, said, in a discussion of this subject: "A clever finance minister may for a long time make ends meet by devising new methods of taxation, by raising excise and customs duties, or even by juggling with figures; but there is no hope for the finances of a country like ours, where the taxpaying power of the population as a whole is steadily decreasing." From the facts above set forth it clearly

appears that the economic condition of the Russian people is extremely unsatisfactory; that they have been taxed to "the last possible limit"; that the Minister of Finance narrowly escaped a deficit in 1903; and that the Council of State finds it necessary to warn all ministers and heads of departments that they must take "most energetic measures to prevent further increase of expenditures." Can a government that is in such a financial condition as this carry on a long war in the Far East without imminent risk of imperilling its credit abroad and its prestige and security at home?—*George Kennan, in The Outlook.*

If Russia has been caught unprepared the fault is surely her own. She has been protracting negotiations which it was quite evident could come to nothing, and which she did not mean should come to anything, for the purpose of completing her military preparations. A Russian officer is now quoted as saying that the months of preparation which the protraction has given her have been of the greatest advantage to the strengthening of her position. The Japanese declaration sets forth the Russian delays in spite of the Japanese urgency. The Japanese proposal of August 12 was not answered until October 13. The Japanese proposal of October 30 was not answered until December 11. The last Russian note was delivered January 6 and answered January 13. No answer to the Japanese communication of this latest date had been received by Japan on February 8, when Japanese patience gave way, and Japan distinctly announced that negotiations were broken off and withdrew her legation from St. Petersburg. This step may be the ultimate or only the penultimate step toward war. But Japan clearly made it the former by announcing, when she took it, from Tokio and also from more than one of her embassies, that a formal declaration of war was not expected.—*New York Times.*

**"Hay" Note on** On February 6, Baron von Sternburg, the the War Suggested German Ambassador, under instructions from by the Kaiser Berlin, called at the White House and laid before the President this proposition:

"That the powers urge on Russia and Japan the expediency of preserving the peace of mind of the Chinese Court and of respecting the neutrality and entity of administration of China." The German government invited the United States, as a power possessing the least political interest in European and Far East affairs, to issue the invitation; in the event, however, that this was not practicable, Germany expressed her willingness to take the initiative.

The German Ambassador called again the following day, Sunday, for a further conference with the President, to whom the idea at once appealed as exceedingly practicable and worthy of execution. Secretary Hay arrived in Washington that night, and had a conference with the President immediately after his arrival.

The next morning the German Ambassador called at the Secretary's residence for a conference. It was then decided that probably the invitation could be issued more advantageously by this government, and the notes to the peace and combatant powers were that day framed, those to Germany, France and Great Britain being cabled that night.

Germany made this proposition to the United States without consultation with the other powers. It is said that Russia had no knowledge in advance of Germany's intention to take this step.

It should be remembered that at the time the note was issued there was no official information that hostilities had actually begun. This fact necessitated a slight changing in the wording of the invitation to the other powers.—*New York Times*.

**"Safeness" of President Roosevelt** Men say he is not safe! He is not safe for the men who wish to prosecute selfish schemes for the public's detriment. He is not safe for the men who wish the government conducted with greater reference to campaign contributions than to the public good. He is not safe for the men who wish to drag the President of the United States into a corner and make whispered arrangements which they dare not have shown by their constituents.

There is a better way to protect property, to protect capital and to protect great enterprises than by the buying of legislators. There is a better way to deal with labor and keep it from rising into the tumult of unregulated and resistless mobs than by starving it or by buying or corrupting its leaders. There are some things to be thought of besides the speculations of the hour. There is the great onward march of American institutions, the development of our social system, the underlying faith and trust of our people in the laws under which they live. And the man in the chair of the Chief Magistrate of this great people, President not merely of you and me, but of all the eighty millions in the land, is charged under his high responsibilities so to administer the law that it shall have the confidence and respect of the people who have made it.—*Secretary Root on President Roosevelt*.



Still another distinguished Republican whom the Hanna bureau has hoped to tempt into a combat with Mr. Roosevelt for the Republican nomination for President has turned his back squarely on the plan of anything-to-beat-Roosevelt. Mr. Root's sentiments and principles are inconceivable, no doubt, to the trust power and its Hanna bureau, which have set out to buy the defeat of Mr. Roosevelt's nomination for commercial use as they would buy pig-iron or crude oil for commercial use; but, thank heaven! they are the sentiments and principles of the American people, who vote for candidates to represent them in office. They cannot comprehend this point of view, perhaps, but they will understand the fact of its existence when they attempt to prevent the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt, to whom ex-Secretary Root pays his unqualified tribute, by the Republican party, whose members stand for the Roosevelt principles ten thousand to one who is seduced or corrupted to the uses of special interests against the interests and the rights of the American people and the welfare and honor of the nation!—*New York Press*.

Mr. Root wishes to convince New York that the President is a faithful, yet conservative, upholder of the law. That is the heart and meaning of his discourse. It is also the point in dispute. The men of the railroads and great combinations are told, not specifically by Mr. Root, but by the President's friends all and several, that the law compelled him to bring the action against the Northern Securities Company. His respect for the law was the motive of his action. The question is instantly suggested, if Mr. Roosevelt is so punctilious about the anti-trust law why did he so roughly override the public law, the supreme law of the land, our treaty with Colombia? "We shall have the canal," said Mr. Root, but he forbore to enter into a detailed defense of the Panamá transaction. How could he in an address describing Mr. Roosevelt as a conservative President? The "constructive recess" raises a further question. Is there any law for that? Does that sublimated idea of an infinitesimal point of time find any support in human reason? Where was the law for the anthracite strike commission? And was not the law a little mishandled in the promotion of Gen. Wood? Sober-minded men have reached the conclusion that the interference in the coal strike was the reverse of a conservative act. But for the President the end of the struggle, it is believed, would soon have been reached, and it would have ended in a way to give far less aid and comfort to labor agitators; in a way that would not have served to encourage the spirit of unrest and

the turbulence that has brought such loss upon the country's industries during the past year and a half.—*New York Times*.

The impression has been made that the President has not a nice regard for the law. We have had other Presidents who were not lawyers, but they were careful to take the opinion of skilled legal advisers. Mr. Roosevelt does not appear to do this. He seems to have a light-minded way of snapping his fingers at precedents and statutes. Only recently in the House there was a disagreeable reminder of his rash promise, when Governor of New York, to refuse to deliver up a man involved in a Kentucky murder. That is the kind of thing which gives sober men pause. It helps to give currency to Professor Nelson's definition of Mr. Roosevelt's mind as one "essentially lawless."—*New York Evening Post*.

**Southern Press** on Cleveland is far stronger in South Carolina to-day than he was four or eight years ago. **Democratic Leaders** Whatever the attitude of the thick-and-thin Bryan Democrats in this and other Southern States, there is no doubt that Mr. Cleveland is growing in importance every day. He would suit the conservative people of the country exactly, and he would unquestionably be the strongest candidate the Democrats could put in the field.—*Charleston News and Courier*.

It is now a common thing to hear Democrats who are opposed to Cleveland admit that they think he could be elected.—*Nashville American*.

The country is passing through the most critical period of its existence, and the sanest, safest, most courageous man is required at the helm. And it is this need of the country and Mr. Roosevelt's capacity for "committing an error in one-tenth the time others require" that is causing the bone and sinew, the substantial citizenship of the country, almost without regard to party affiliations, to turn to the Democracy with hope that it may rise to the occasion and name the one man whom all know "will be elected if nominated."

And that man is Grover Cleveland.—*Raleigh Post*.

There is no great danger that Mr. Bryan is going to run matters to suit himself hereafter. He could not do so if he would. The St. Louis platform should be a clear-cut expression on the live issues of to-day without a line favoring the mistakes that the party has made in the past. Mr. Bryan and all friends of the party should prefer it that way. Even if

they prefer it otherwise they should stand for it anyway, if the wiser heads prevail and the dead past is absolutely ignored.—*Galveston News*.

The only objection to Mr. Bryan's "going it" is that his lone doodlesack makes a discordant note at a time when all the brasses, reeds and bass drums of the Democratic band are beginning to sound in harmony again. In the face of his two defeats and the majority of the Democratic party he is insisting that the Kansas City platform "must be reaffirmed." It is high time that Mr. Bryan is made to realize, kindly but firmly, just where he stands. He might have yielded his point gracefully, but he has preferred to contend with the inevitable. He must not be allowed to endanger the chances of the Democratic party at the polls this year, when that party has such a bright outlook for victory. Bryanism is a thing of the past. It has lost its power of appeal, and Mr. Bryan should be made to recognize the fact.—*Atlanta Journal*.

Bryan's talk is either the raving of a political madman or it is a deliberate insult to the great body of Democrats throughout the land. In either view, it is enough to destroy forever whatever of influence Mr. Bryan may have had in the party councils.—*Richmond Times-Dispatch*.

The party has been aroused to the fact that it cannot afford to be ruined by a fanatically ambitious man, who seems to have lost all sense of gratitude and every semblance of modesty. The Democratic party should cut loose from every appearance of affiliation or sympathy with Bryan and his populist visions, and nominate a conservative man on a sane platform, or else prepare for a third defeat, even worse than the other two.—*Birmingham News*.

The mention of such a man as Hearst in connection with this great office is a reflection on the party.—*Nashville American*.

**Foraker's** That nothing in the act to regulate commerce, **Amendment to** approved February 4, 1887, or in the act to **Sherman Law** protect foreign trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies, approved July 2, 1890, or in any act amendatory of either of said acts, shall hereafter apply to foreign commerce, or shall prohibit any act or any contract in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, provided that such restraint be reasonable, or shall



hereafter authorize imprisonment or forfeiture of property as punishment for any violation of said acts, except for perjury or contempt of court.—*Text of Proposed Amendment.*

We wish that the Foraker bill had been introduced when it would have had the aspect of honest and straightforward remedial legislation. A worse time for bringing it forward than the present there could not be. It is humiliating to reflect that the legislation of the country has been so perverted to the ends and uses of demagogues that such a measure should be necessary to set it straight; but it is still more humiliating to have to confess that the remedy is now vouchsafed only from discreditable and unworthy motives.—*New York Sun.*

The purport of the Foraker amendment is to lift the restraining hand of the law from the trusts, and to license them to commit all acts in restraint of trade except such as may, according to the interpretation of the federal courts—too often inclined to favor the corporations—be “unreasonable.” That is a vague and indefinite word. Wall Street, adept in quips and legal niceties, and capital in combination everywhere, hail it as proof that President Roosevelt, now seeking a nomination and election, is willing to declare a truce, to make terms with the trusts. Senator Foraker’s relations with the President are responsible for this interpretation of his act. For ourselves, we do not believe the President is ready to repudiate his anti-trust record; hence, we do not believe he has anything to do with the Foraker amendment, which would give the trusts a freer hand than ever they had before. For the President now to face about on the trust question would deprive him of all the popular favor he enjoys.—*Baltimore Sun.*

Senator Foraker’s proposed amendment probably marks the termination of a period of strained relations and bad humor between Wall Street and the White House, which has brought audible discord into the councils of the Republican party and been the cause of harrowing anxieties to the President and his friends. By his zeal in instituting and prosecuting suits under the act of 1890, particularly the suit against the Northern Securities Company, President Roosevelt has angered and alarmed the great financial and business interests. It is certain that it announces the initiation of a policy at Washington which will wonderfully appease Republican disaffection in New York and in business circles throughout the country. This being the political import of Senator Foraker’s amendment, it remains to say that the measure is one which, out of respect for its own reputation and of regard for the

industrial and commercial welfare of the country, Congress ought to adopt without delay.—*New York Times*.

**The "Service"** The service pension bill introduced in the Senate and House provides for a pension of \$12  
**Pension**  
**Bill** a month to every veteran of the Civil War who served in the Union army for ninety days and has reached the age of sixty-two years. Pensions of a similar amount are provided by the bill for widows of war veterans who were married prior to June 27, 1890. It is estimated roughly that to carry out the provisions of the bill would cost \$40,000,000 a year. This is the bill favored by the pension committee of the G. A. R., which recently appeared before Congress and presented arguments in favor of its passage at this session of Congress.—*Public Opinion*.

Now, all that remains for us to do is to accept the results of the pension committee's work as the very best possible, and drop, for a while at least, all differences of opinion, uniting with the utmost loyalty and earnestness in striving to have this bill passed. As it stands, its success will bring incomparable benefits to hundreds of thousands of our needy and deserving comrades, and their widows. It is the only legislation that we can hope for at this session of Congress, and therefore we should leave no stone unturned to secure its enactment. Let us all go to work to pass the service pension bill.—*The G. A. R. organ, National Tribune*.

Is patriotism to be appraised on a cash basis? Is every man who shouldered a musket at his country's call, irrespective of his needs or his wounds, going to become a hanger-on of the Treasury? The pension attorneys want this, and a sentiment has been artfully worked up in its favor among veterans who probably have not carefully thought out all that it implies. But we do not believe that the great body of brave and patriotic men, who are proud of their part in saving the Union, wish to lower the standard of devotion for future generations and teach the world that men who do not need pensions think that they must be subsidized for having been patriotic. We do not believe they care thus to cheapen their service.—*New York Tribune*.

**Does Education** As a race he is deteriorating morally every  
**"Spoil"** day. Time has demonstrated that he more  
**the Negro** criminal as a freeman than as a slave; that he is increasing in criminality with frightful rapidity, being one-third more criminal in 1890 than he was in 1880. The startling

facts revealed by the census show that those who can read and write are more criminal than the illiterates, which is true of no other element of our population. I am advised that the minimum illiteracy among the Negroes is found in New England, where it is 21.7 per cent. The maximum was found in the black belt—Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina—where it is 65.7 per cent. And yet the Negro in New England is four and one-half times more criminal, hundred for hundred, than he is in the black belt. In the South, Mississippi particularly, I know he is growing worse every year. You can scarcely pick up a newspaper whose pages are not blackened with the account of an unmentionable crime committed by a Negro brute. And this crime, I want to impress upon you, is but the manifestation of the Negro's aspiration for social equality, encouraged largely by the character of free education in vogue, which the State is levying tribute upon the white people to maintain.

My own idea is that the character of the education for the Negro ought to be changed. If, after years of earnest effort and the expenditure of fabulous sums of money to educate his head, we have only succeeded in making a criminal out of him and imperiling his usefulness and efficiency as a laborer, wisdom would suggest that we make another experiment and see if we cannot improve him by educating his hand and his heart. There must be a moral substratum upon which to build, or you cannot make a desirable citizen.—*Governor Vardaman of Mississippi.*

#### Current Price Comparisons

The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates:

	Feb. 16, 1903	Jan. 15, 1904	Feb. 10, 1904
Flour, Minn. patent (bbl. 196 lbs.)..	\$ 4.10	\$ 4.80	\$ 5.30
Wheat, No. 2 (red) (bushel).....	82½	96	98
Corn, No. 2 mixed (bushel).....	60	54½	59½
Oats, No. 2 mixed (bushel).....	43½	43½	48
Pork, mess (bbl. 200 lbs.).....	17.75	14.75	15.75
Beef, Ham (bbl. 200 lbs.).....	19 50	21.50	22 00
Coffee, Rio No. 7 (lb.).....	5½	8½	8
Sugar, Granulated, Standard (lb.)..	4 100	4 100	4 100
Butter, creamery, extra (lb.).....	26	22½	25½
Cheese, State f. c. small fancy (lb.)..	14½	12	12
Cotton, middling upland (lb.).....	9 100	13 100	14 850
Print Cloths (yard).....	3½	3 100	4
Petroleum, N.Y., refined in bbls. (gal.)		8½	9 100
“ bulk, N. Y., (gal.).....	5 100	6½	8½



	Feb. 16, 1903	Jan. 15, 1904	Feb. 10, 1904
Hides, native steers (lb.).....	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Leather, hemlock (lb.).....	25	23 $\frac{1}{2}$	23 $\frac{1}{2}$
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry, (ton 2000 lbs.).....	24.00	15 25	15.00
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry, (ton 2000 lbs.).....	23.50	14.25	14.00
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.).....	29.87 $\frac{1}{2}$	29.37	28.10
Copper, Lake ingot. (100 lbs.).....	12.95	13.00	12.12 $\frac{1}{2}$
Lead, domestic (100 lbs.).....	4.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	4.50	4.50
Tinplate (100 lbs., I. C., 14x20)....	3.95	3.95	4.40
Steel rails (ton 2000 lbs.).....	28.00	28.00	28.00
Wire nails (Pittsburg) (keg 100 lbs.)	1 90	1 85	1 85
Steers, prime Chicago (100 lbs.)...	4 90	5 43	5 15
Fine Silver (per ounce) (latest official report) .....	48 $\frac{3}{8}$	.6165	.56275
Bullion value silver dollar.....	37 $\frac{3}{8}$	.4729	.43633
Ratio gold to silver.....	1-42 $\frac{7}{10}$	1:33.80	1:36.64

The range of prices of agricultural products, as given by the government *Crop Reporter*:

	1899 Feb.	1900 Feb.	1901 Feb.	1902 Feb.	1903 Feb.	1904 Feb.
Wheat No. 2 red, N.Y. (bush.)	.87 $\frac{3}{8}$	.79 $\frac{7}{8}$	.81 $\frac{1}{2}$	.93 $\frac{1}{2}$	.84	1.00
Corn, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.37	.34 $\frac{1}{2}$	.40	.61 $\frac{1}{2}$	.45	.52 $\frac{1}{2}$
Corn, No. 2, N. Y., (bush.)	.45	.44 $\frac{1}{2}$	.48 $\frac{7}{8}$	.71 $\frac{1}{2}$	.59	.54
Oats, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.28 $\frac{1}{2}$	.23 $\frac{1}{2}$	.25 $\frac{1}{2}$	.44 $\frac{1}{2}$	.36	.45
Rye, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.56 $\frac{1}{2}$	.55 $\frac{1}{2}$	.50 $\frac{1}{2}$	.60 $\frac{1}{2}$	.51 $\frac{1}{2}$	.62 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hay, No. 1, Timothy, Chic. (ton)	8.50	11.50	13.50	13.50	13.00	11.50
Potatoes, N. Y., (180 lbs.)	2.00	2.00	1.75	2.50	2.00	3.00
Hops, choice, N. Y., (lb.)	.18	.13 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	.18	.37	.38
Wool, xx, washed, N.Y., (lb.)	.29	.39	.29	.27	.32	.32
" best tub washed, St. L. (lb.)	.26	.36	.28	.24 $\frac{1}{2}$	.29	.30 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hogs, Chicago (100 lbs.)	4.05	5.10	5.65	6.85	7.55	5.05
Butter, creamery ex, N.Y., (lb.)	.25	.26	.24	.30	.28	.24 $\frac{1}{2}$
" Elgin	.22	.24	.23 $\frac{1}{2}$	.29	.27	.23
Eggs, best fresh, N. Y. (doz.)	.35	.19	.21 $\frac{1}{2}$	.37	.25	.40
" " St. Louis (doz.)	.22	.14	.17 $\frac{1}{2}$	.32	.18	.27
Cheese, Sept. col'd, N. Y.	.11	.13 $\frac{1}{2}$	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.14 $\frac{1}{2}$	.12
" Full Cream, St. Louis	.11	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.11 $\frac{1}{2}$	.13	.14 $\frac{1}{2}$	.11 $\frac{1}{2}$

*Dun's Review* shows index-number aggregate prices, per unit, of 350 commodities:

	Jan. 1 1899	Jan. 1 1900	Jan. 1 1901	Jan. 1 1902	Jan. 1 1903	Jan. 1 1904
Breadstuffs....	\$13.816	13.254	14.486	20.002	17.104	17.102
Meats.....	7.520	7.258	8.407	9.670	9.522	8.138
Dairv, garden..	11.458	13.702	15.556	15.248	14.613	15.287
Other foods....	9 096	9.200	9.504	8.952	9.418	9.653
Clothing.....	14 150	17.484	16.024	15.547	15.938	17.316
Metals .....	11.843	18.085	15.810	15.375	17.185	15.887
Miscellaneous..	12.540	16.312	15.881	16.793	16 576	16.759
Total .....	\$80.423	95.295	95.668	101.587	100.356	100.142

The average prices of sixty railway stocks, ten industrial and five city traction and gas stocks are given in *Dun's Review*:

	Dec. 31, 1901.	Dec. 12, 1902.	Dec. 11, 1903.	Jan. 8, 1904.
Average, 60 railway.....	102.99	103.03	87.64	89.00
" 10 industrial .....	63.45	57.48	45.61	47.10
" 5 city traction, etc..	137.37	130.45	118.38	120.31

Prices of certain significant stocks on the New York stock exchange, as given by *Bradstreet's*:

	Range during 1903		Closing Jan. 8, 1904	Prices Feb. 5, 1904
	Highest	Lowest		
Amer. Beet Sugar (com.).....	31½	26	—	—
Amer. Beet (pref.).....	83½	73	—	—
Amer. Sugar Ref. (com.).....	134½	107½	125	124½
Amer. Sugar Ref. (pref.).....	123	115	124	125
Amer. Tobacco (pref.).....	149½	130	—	—
Cont. Tobacco (pref.).....	119	94½	102½	105
Gt. Northern Ry. (pref.).....	209	160	—	—
International Paper (pref.)....	74½	57½	—	66½
N. Y. Central R. R.....	156	112½	119½	118
Pennsylvania R. R.....	157½	110½	117½	116½
Reading R. R. (1st pf.).....	89½	73	78	80
Southern Pacific Ry.....	68½	38½	48½	47½
U. S. Rubber.....	19½	7	11½	11½
U. S. Rubber (pref.).....	58	30½	42	48½
U. S. Steel (com.).....	39½	10	10½	10½
" " (pref.) .....	89½	49½	56	54½
Western Union Tel.....	93	80½	87½	87½

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*:

	Jan. 2, 1903	Dec. 5, 1903	Jan. 3, 1904
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)....	5 10 0	5 10 0	5 10 0
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2 13 4½	2 8 9	— — —
Copper	53 7 6	55 0 2½	56 12 0
Tin, Straits	120 15 0	119 5 0	132 12 6
Tin Plate (108 lbs., I. C., 14x20) ..	0 11 9	0 11 3	0 11 0
Sugar, granulated (112 lbs.).....	0 15 9	0 16 6	0 16 6
Lead, Eng. pig (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	11 1 3	11 6 3	11 6 3
Cotton, middling upland (lb.).....	0 0 4½	0 0 4½	0 0 5½
Petroleum (gallon).....	0 0 6½	0 0 7½	0 0 6½

(American equivalents of English money: pounds—4.866; shilling—24.3 cents; penny—2.03 cents.)

# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## THE SECOND MERGER DECISION

THE DECISION of the United States Supreme Court in the Merger Case, handed down on Monday, March 14, is of vital and far-reaching significance, not so much in disbanding the Northern Securities Company, as in confirming and ratifying a principle of law affecting all industrial organization. In comparison with this, the mere question as to whether the Northern Securities Company should or should not be permitted to do business under its charter is a matter of little concern. That affects the existence of but one particular enterprise, while the principle involved in the decision affects all corporate organizations.

It will be remembered that this decision is an opinion rendered on appeal. It confirms the decision given by the lower courts in which the case was tried, and in order to understand its nature it is necessary to know the essential features of the decision that it confirms.

The original decision was rendered in the case of the United States Government against the Northern Securities Company, for violating the so-called Sherman Anti-Trust Law of 1890. The case is peculiar because it has in it a large element of politics. The Sherman Law was not passed solely for the promotion of business equity and fairness, but very largely as a measure of political expediency and to throw a "tub to the whale." The leaders of the anti-trust agitation have been constantly charging the Republicans with being "the party of the rich," and as trusts became unpopular it was called the "party of trusts." All this, of course, was done for the purpose of influencing the popular vote against the Republican party. In order to show that



it was not a "trust" party, Senator Sherman, as the mouth-piece of the Republican party, introduced an anti-trust act. It was not expected to be enforced, much less to be strictly interpreted by the courts.

During the following ten years the Sherman Law was practically a dead letter. The Democrats, under the leadership of Bryan, fairly howled for its enforcement. President McKinley was called the creature of trusts and taunted with not daring to enforce the law. Like a conservative, judicious statesman, he paid no attention to this partizan clamor. He declined to become a prosecutor of corporations merely to show that he was not the creature of trusts.

When Mr. Roosevelt became president, the anti-trust people began to badger him in the same way, and he could not stand it. He can stand almost anything better than to be dared to do a thing. Under the pressure of this nagging, the President ordered Attorney-General Knox to prosecute the Northern Securities Company. The court rendered a decision that the Northern Securities Company was guilty of violating the Sherman Law, as being in restraint of trade. In rendering its opinion, the court said:

Relative to the third contention, which has been pressed with great zeal and ability, this may be said: It may be that such a virtual consolidation of parallel and competing lines of railroads as has been effected, taking a broad view of the situation, is beneficial to the public rather than harmful. It may be that the motives which inspired the combination by which this end was accomplished were wholly laudable and unselfish; that the combination was formed by the individual defendants to protect great interests which had been committed to their charge; or that the combination was the initial and necessary step in the accomplishment of great designs, which, if carried out as they were conceived, would prove to be of inestimable value to the communities which those roads serve and to the country at large.

We shall neither affirm nor deny either of these propositions, because they present issues which we are not called upon to determine, and some of them involve questions which are not within the province of any court to decide, involving as they do questions of public policy which Congress must determine. It is our duty to ascertain whether

the proof discloses a combination in direct restraint of interstate commerce, that is to say, a combination whereby the power has been acquired to suppress competition between two or more competing and parallel lines of railroad engaged in interstate commerce. If it does disclose such a combination, and we have little hesitation in answering this question in the affirmative, then the anti-trust act, as it has been heretofore interpreted by the court of last resort, has been violated, and the government is entitled to a decree.

It will be seen that, according to the interpretation of the court, the Sherman Law not only makes it a crime for persons or corporations to act in restraint of trade, but makes it a crime *to have the power to act* in restraint of trade, even though that power was not so used, but was used wholly for the benefit of the public. In other words, to have the power to commit an offense, is to be guilty of having committed it. As was remarked in these pages at the time, if this decision were carried into effect impartially throughout the country, it would dissolve every considerable corporation in the land. Many of the great concerns of the country would be deemed illegal and forced to disband and in most cases, their business would be disrupted. It is estimated that today, about 85 per cent. of the railroad mileage of the country (over 225,000 miles), would come under the ban of this decision. Nor is this a mere accident of words. It was emphatically laid down in the first decision that,

It may be that the motives which inspired the combination by which this end was accomplished were wholly laudable and unselfish; that the combination was formed by the individual defendants to protect great interests which had been committed to their charge; or that the combination was the initial and necessary step in the accomplishment of great designs, which, if carried out as they were conceived, would prove to be of inestimable value to the communities which those roads serve and to the country at large.

All this matters not. According to the court, this is none of its business. If the corporation has the power to restrain trade, though it is not doing so, but is rendering an inestimable service to the community, it is nevertheless guilty of acting in restraint of trade, and is in violation of the law.

This is indeed a new principle in law, and in the interpretation of conduct. Importance has heretofore been attached to the motives as well as to the act; the intention to commit a crime has been regarded as grounds for calling in the law to restrain by injunction, or putting the party under bond not to commit the suspected act; but it was never before deemed a crime, merely to have the power to commit one. Every large concern in the country has the power to restrict competition to some extent.

It is this decision against which appeal was taken to the Supreme Court and which the opinion just handed down confirms. The principle, therefore, that a corporation that is strong enough to act in restraint of trade, though it never does so, is a criminal and has no legal right to exist, and is subject to all the pains and penalties, to the fines and imprisonment, prescribed by the Sherman Law, is now confirmed by the highest court in the land.

One encouraging aspect of the case is, that it was in reality a minority decision. Although the report was signed by five of the nine justices on the bench, only four subscribed to the view that to have the power was to be guilty of using it. Justice Brewer while assenting to the majority opinion, took exception to this interpretation of it. In an assenting opinion, he asserted that the law should be interpreted to apply only to contracts, agreements, and conduct actually in restraint of trade. But, as he regarded the Northern Securities Company to be in "unreasonable restraint of trade," he voted with the majority. The other four judges, namely, Chief Justice Fuller, Justice White, Justice Peckham, and Justice Holmes, dissented from the opinion. Thus, in reality, the essential principle involved in the decision of the lower court, against which the appeal was taken, was not confirmed by a majority of the Supreme Court. This decision, therefore, which will go down as a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, sus-



taining the interpretation of the Sherman Law as making it criminal for any corporation to have the power to act in restraint of trade, is in reality not the opinion of the court, and the majority opinion of the court is against it. It is unfortunate that the decision in such an important case as this should rest on a minority opinion. So strong was the dissent from this interpretation of Justice Holmes and Justice White that each wrote a dissenting opinion. Justice Holmes said:

It is vain to insist that this is not a criminal proceeding. The words can not be read one way in a suit which is to end in fine or imprisonment, and another way in one which seeks an injunction. . . . If such a remote result of the exercise of an ordinary incident of property and personal freedom is enough to make that exercise unlawful, there is hardly any transaction concerning commerce between the states that may not be made a crime by the finding of a jury or a court.

Justice White puts the case even stronger. He takes issue with the proposition of the government that Congressional power over interstate commerce includes authority to regulate the instrumentalities of such commerce and to regulate the ownership and possession of property if the enjoyment of such rights would enable those who possess them, if they engaged in interstate commerce, to exert a power over the same. Under this doctrine the sum of property to be acquired by individuals or by corporations, the contracts which they would make, would be within the regulating power of Congress.

It is wholesome and highly encouraging to know that half the justices of the Supreme Court, besides the Chief Justice, are pronounced against such an interpretation of law as this opinion confirms. The criticism of Justice White has the true ring of the real defender of the principles of human liberty.

It is peculiar to note that all but one of the dissenting judges are Democrats, and the majority justices are all Republicans;—not that party politics had anything to do

with the opinion in this case, but it shows that the Democratic principle underlying the Jeffersonian doctrine, of the sacredness of personal liberty and the distrust of state interference, furnishes a more wholesome anchorage where fundamental principles are involved, and that Republican opportunism makes poor foundation material for political doctrine. There is great danger in a political doctrine that is so plastic as to conform to the pressure of temporary emergency. It may often be more helpful to progress, but it is a less stable bulwark of personal liberty and of human rights. But the fact remains that the Sherman Act is the law of the land, and that the Supreme Court has interpreted it as meaning that any corporation is a criminal and subject to its pains and penalties for being strong enough to act in restraint of trade.

A few weeks ago Senator Foraker introduced a bill in the United States Senate for the purpose of correcting this absurd feature of the Sherman Act which makes industrial strength a crime, by so modifying the law as to make only unreasonable restraint of trade a violation of law. It is simply putting into the statute the spirit of the common law that has come down to us through the ages. But the Attorney-General and other representatives of the Administration promptly repudiated the measure and intimated that it would receive the opposition of the President and the Administration forces, which means that the Administration stands for the absurd character of the Sherman Law as now revealed by the interpretation of the Supreme Court.

If the decision just rendered is to be regarded as a good interpretation of the law, the law must be regarded as absurdly grotesque, irrational, and contrary to the spirit of the common law and to the essential principle of individual liberty. If Mr. Roosevelt and the Administration are going to oppose an amendment of the law, then the only consistent policy open to them is the strict and impartial enforce-

ment of it. To drop the matter at this stage would be both cowardly and unjust.

If the Supreme Court had decided that the decision of the lower court was in error, so far as it declared it a crime to have the power to restrict competition, whether it used it or not, and sustain that part of it which adjudged the Northern Securities Company guilty of unreasonable restraint of trade, then there would have been good grounds for regarding the decision as affecting only the Merger Case, and that other corporations would be guilty of violation of the Sherman Law only when they used their power in unreasonable restraint of trade. But that such is not the case was proved by the fact that Justice Brewer wrote a dissenting opinion explaining his vote, because of the action of the majority on this point.

The great corporations representing about 85 per cent. of the railroad mileage of the country (or over 225,000 miles), which, according to this decision are every day violating the law, should be prosecuted just as much as the Northern Securities Company. Also the Western Union Telegraph Company, the Standard Oil Company, the United States Steel Corporation, the beef-packing companies, the consolidated hide and leather companies, the consolidated banks, and all other large concerns, no matter how important to public welfare, which have power to restrict competition in their line, should be ordered to disband, or be prosecuted at once. If this were done it would probably create a panic, ruin business, and incidentally insure Mr. Roosevelt's defeat for president. But it would at least establish his courage and consistency. If this is not done, and all other law-breakers are ignored, it will go far to establish the charge made by the President's enemies, that the prosecution of the Northern Securities Company, was more a matter of political performance, than of conscientious enforcement of the law in the public interest.



It is for the Administration and the Republican party to select which, of these two courses they will take. To maintain the law in a single case, and ignore its violation in others, would be manifest hypocrisy. To modify the law so as to make it apply only to unreasonable restraint of trade, and to subject to punishment only those who actually violate the law, would put the action of the court on a reasonable basis and enable the courts to act consistently with modern progress. If the other course is taken, besides being cowardly and dishonest, the whole proceeding will constitute an official contribution to the demand for public ownership of industry. If the law that makes it a crime to have the power to check competition is to be neither amended, nor impartially enforced, the public will have good grounds for demanding that the government own, and control industry.

It is useless to say this would be going to an unreasonable extreme. This Supreme Court decision itself is going to an unreasonable extreme; but it appears only to have been a strict interpretation of the law, which shows that the law goes to an unreasonable extreme. The truth is, as is now admitted, by those who were at its borning, the law was never intended to be subjected to such a strict construction. The law was not honestly conceived; hence it works havoc when it is honestly interpreted. If Justice Brewer's interpretation of the law in regard to restraint of trade, had been accepted by the court, the whole case would have assumed a rational aspect; but with Justice Harlan's interpretation the statute becomes an irrational and really an unenforcible law, except at the expense of disrupting the industries of the nation.

The question is, shall the law be enforced and industry disrupted; or shall the Administration dishonestly wink at its violation? Shall we forge ahead toward socialism and the public ownership of industries, or shall the law be so modified as to make it in reasonable accord with the spirit and necessities of industrial progress?

## RESTRAINING INJUNCTIONS

A BILL has been introduced into Congress by Mr. Grosvenor, of Ohio, entitled, "A bill to limit the meaning of the word conspiracy and the use of restraining orders and injunctions." The object of this bill is to prevent the courts from issuing injunctions against labor-unions in cases of strikes and boycotts. It provides that,

No agreement, combination or contract by or between two or more persons to do or procure to be done, or not to do, or procure not to be done, any act in contemplation or furtherance of any trade dispute between employers and employes . . . shall be deemed criminal, nor shall those engaged therein be indictable, or otherwise punishable for the crime of conspiracy, if such act committed by one person would not be punishable as a crime, nor shall such agreement, combination, or contract be considered as in restraint of trade, or commerce, nor shall any restraining order, or injunction be issued with relation thereto.

If this bill is enacted into law it would very effectively prevent all United States Courts from issuing injunctions against any agreement or combination whatsoever, on the plea of conspiracy or restraint of trade. It would effectively destroy the power of injunction. The purpose of the act is to exempt from injunctions only labor organizations, and it removes from them all power of restraint by the courts, for all acts that would not be criminal if committed by one person. This has, very naturally, raised alarm among employers, and the hearings before the Judiciary Committee have been prolonged and exciting.

It is a caustic, sweeping measure which can not be defended as consistent with the spirit of fairness and a rational use of the power of the courts. Injunction is a very wholesome power. It has saved the public from many acts of injustice that might be irreparable. The spirit and purpose of the power of injunction is that when any person or number of persons are known to be about to do an act that

would illegally interfere with the rights and property of others, the party can be enjoined by the courts until a hearing is had upon the case. This is a very wholesome, conservative, rational power to be entrusted to the courts; but, like all other powers in society, if it is abused there is sure to be a reaction, and under popular government a reaction is very likely to be of a sweeping character.

This has been the case with nearly all legislation aiming to restrict both corporations and trade-unions. The Sherman Law, for instance, was hailed by organized labor with great delight, because it purported to furnish a restraining power against corporations through injunction; but, the very first use of injunction under the Sherman Law was against labor-unions. Then the very people who had aided in the passage of the Sherman Law were crying out against it, because it hurt them, when they thought it should hit only the other fellow. This shows the danger of trying to have legislation for the special purpose of injuring a special group. It can not in the long run be done, and it ought not to be. All legislation and judicial authority to be safe must apply to all.

This power of injunction, which was stimulated by the passage of the Sherman Law, has been very freely, and in many cases improperly, employed against labor-unions. In the Ann Harbor strike, the Wabash Railway strike, and in many other cases, the power of injunction was so used as to be a positive oppression. Such unfair use of the injunction could only have the effect of creating a reaction against the use of the injunction. This class of cases, and they were very numerous for a while, led to the declaration against injunction in the Democratic platform in 1900, and it became an active political issue of considerable strength with the masses.

In the long run, public opinion in this country will not support an unreasonable use of power. If it becomes clear,



by repeated decisions, that the courts of the United States are using a certain power, though in itself wholesome and legitimate, yet is used unfairly toward labor, nothing can stop the pendulum of public opinion from taking a swing in the other direction, and in so doing, it is almost certain to go to the extreme, in the opposite direction. This is what has really happened in the matter of injunction. For instance, in the case of the miners in West Virginia, where an injunction was issued against the miners for addressing meetings, or against strangers bringing in supplies for the strikers, in fact, taking away every right of the strikers to do anything to make their case known to the public and enlist the assistance and cooperation of their fellows. The hearing on the case as to the grounds for issuing the injunction, was placed at a date several months ahead, so that, in the nature of things, the strike would be over before the laborers could be heard. This was depriving the laborers of all the rights supposed to exist under the injunction. If the date for the hearing had been fixed within a week of the issuing of the injunction, there could have been no objection to the injunction, the court would have had the evidence upon which to form an opinion whether the injunction should obtain, or whether it was asked for merely as a means of helping one side to beat the other in a labor conflict. But in this case, the court was so manifestly partizan that it practically deprived the laborers of a hearing. This is not a legal use of injunction, but manifestly an abuse of it; and it is this abuse that has enabled men like Bryan and Hearst to make a political issue of the question.

In introducing this bill, Mr. Grosvenor was simply playing the part of a politician responding to what he believed to be the demand of his "deestric." In this, he is no exception. He represents the attitude of legislators generally throughout the country. Whatever is demanded by the public and is likely to command the popular vote will be acceded to by

over 90 per cent. of the lawmakers of the land. In their abuse of the use of injunction at the behest of employers, the courts have created this public opinion adverse to injunction. It is the boomerang of their own policy. Their conduct in this matter has been sufficiently unreasonable to create a revolt in the public mind against the partiality and unfairness of the judges in the United States Courts. The result is the bill now before Congress taking away from them the power to issue injunctions against labor organizations.

When the plank against injunctions was put in the Kansas City platform in 1900 it was resented by the public as an impeachment of the courts of the United States. Instead of taking this—public criticism—as a warning, and using injunctions with more moderation, the courts have abused this power more than before. The result is, that what was in 1900 only a faint protest, is now a strong demand, a demand at least sufficiently strong to make a Republican representative from Ohio think it good politics to introduce a bill, depriving the United States Courts of the power of issuing injunctions against labor unions.

This bill may not be reported from the committee this session; but it is not at all improbable, that, if it were reported, it would pass the House and, for that matter, the Senate also. Whatever motives controlled the action of the Judiciary Committee and Congress upon this bill, it is eminently the part of wisdom not to report it. A measure like this should be more thoroughly discussed and the public better informed upon its real nature and consequences before it is enacted into law. It is really a measure of retaliation. It is an effort upon the part of the unions to get even with employers, who have tried to defeat the purposes and conduct of the unions by an unfair use of the courts.

While this bill would indeed prevent the abuse of injunctions against labor-unions, it would do so only by abol-

ishing injunctions altogether. It is very much like the method of curing fits by killing the patient. It is evidently drawn with the short-sighted view that it will work only one way, namely, that it will shield labor-unions from the responsibility of conspiracy and restraint of trade, and punish everybody else. If this were true, it would be a violently partial and unfair measure. But that could not last long. Labor-unions must accept the responsibility of organization. If they insist upon the benefits of organization, they must be willing to stand on the same plane, and be exposed to all the disadvantages of other organizations.

On the face of it, it seems plausible to say that no agreement, combination or contract shall be deemed criminal, if such act, committed by one person, is not punishable as a crime. But that is the very essence of conspiracy. Take the complicity out, and all the idea of conspiracy is gone. One individual may do a multitude of things which would not be permissible for a number of people to organize and agree to do. It is the very agreement of a number that constitutes conspiracy. One person can not conspire. If any act or agreement made by a number of persons or an organization is not to be deemed a crime, unless such act committed by one person is punishable, then, trusts and corporations would be exempt from punishment for restraint of trade, persecution of competitors, or any and all of the things that are now so commonly charged against them. For instance, it is not a punishable offense for one person to refuse to supply another with goods, or to refuse to supply any other people who deal with him with goods; yet, if corporations should agree to do that, they could persecute to death any competitors whom they desired to drive from the field. It is not a crime for one employer to refuse to employ a certain individual, but, it is a crime for employers generally, to conspire to keep an individual out of work. The black list is a conspiracy, but it would not



be one under this bill, because the very combination to injure and starve a few laborers, would not be a crime, if done by a single individual. In attempting thus to get exemption from legal restraint, the labor-unions give a free hand to all kinds of oppressive agreements and contracts and conspiracies by employers and corporations. It is exactly what the community does not want and if really understood, it is what laborers do not want.

The question is properly raised, should labor-unions be made entirely exempt from the operation of injunction? Injunction is an historical feature of judiciary evolution. It has not been invented for the purposes of dealing with trade-unions; it has come along with the evolution of law in protecting the rights of persons and property. There are a great many instances when proposed conduct should be restrained until a hearing can be had. If certain conduct will result in destruction of property and injury to persons, it is to the interest of the public that it should be prevented. It may be said that no one has a right to predict evil of another. When the rights of persons have been violated, redress can generally be had in the courts, but frequently this can not be done. There is a large number of cases where reparation can not be made by any decision of the courts, and it is clearly in the interest of the public that all acts of violence should be prevented if possible, rather than atoned for afterward.

This is the theory of injunction, but the purpose of the injunction is only to prevent the suspected action temporarily, so as to give an opportunity to lay before the courts, the evidence that the apprehension was well-founded. If the complaint is not sustained, the injunction is at once removed, and if it is, it can, and should, be made permanent. Now it is to give this opportunity to those who fear disturbance of the peace and injury to property, these facts are laid before the court. Manifestly common decency, as well as justice,

demands that in such a case the hearing should be at once had, never delayed more than a few days, sufficient to give the defendant an opportunity to prepare his case. When the court fixes the day for the first hearing for this temporary injunction against strikers, months ahead, so that the strike is sure to be over before the hearing can be had, the court is clearly violating the entire purpose and principle of injunction, and has used its power to defeat the very purpose, for which it was created. It becomes a prosecuting partizan, and not an administrator of justice, or a protector of persons, property and peace of the community. This abuse of injunctions should be remedied, but to abolish injunctions against labor-unions, is to give a free hand to the worst element in the labor ranks.

Labor-unions are often falsely charged with being in favor of physical force. Twenty-five years' experience with the action of labor-unions justifies the denial of this charge. There was some truth in it fifty years ago, and even thirty years ago, but during the last twenty-five years the idea that the use of physical force in any form could help laborers has gradually disappeared. Leaders and intelligent members of trade-unions, today know that the disturbance of peace and all cases of violence tend permanently to injure their cause. It is true, however, that there always exists in the ranks of large unions, particularly in the cruder industries, like mining, stevedores, and teamsters, a considerable element that is ready to indulge in violence.

If the power of injunctions were entirely abolished, this element would be more powerful and uncontrollable than it is now. In the peaceful conduct of large strikes the responsible leaders of labor-unions need the cooperation of the public and the law. With this cooperating force withdrawn, the unions would be utterly powerless in many cases to keep order at all. There is no good reason, either in the interest of the public, or the interest of organization itself,

why labor-unions should be exempt from the operation of rationally interpreted law which applies to all other forms of industrial organization.

All that labor-unions need is the fair application of injunction. The reform in the injunction matter then, should be to secure to labor-unions this fair treatment at the hands of the courts, not to make them exempt from the operation of law, or to make them an exception. They object to being made the exception for severe prosecution, often amounting to persecution; but, they will not object to being subject to a fair and reasonable interpretation of law.

The remedy for the evil complained of by labor-unions, then, is not the abolition of injunction, but the proper application of it. The real injustice in the injunction experience of labor-unions is that the injunction is often issued on a trumped-up complaint, anticipating violence, for the purpose of preventing a strike, and no hearing is given on the injunction until after the strike is over, thus making the injunction an instrument in the hands of the employer to defeat strikers in their legitimate rights. If a strike takes place on the first of May, and an injunction is issued and the date of hearing is fixed for the first of September, it is manifest that the court is simply using its power unfairly to aid the employers to defeat the strikers. The court becomes partizan in an economic contest. Now, it is this partizan use of the power that constitutes the real evil. It is safe to say that a large per cent. of the injunctions issued against labor-unions could not be sustained on a hearing, but, when the hearing is fixed for three months the strike is usually over and the hearing is useless and never takes place. This is scandalous and justifies the laborers in making any reasonable effort to secure themselves against such treatment. This evil, however, would easily be remedied by compelling the courts to give a hearing within five days of issuance of the injunction, or as soon



thereafter as the enjoined party was ready. Those who asked for the injunction have no rights of delay.

No fair-minded investigator can pretend that the power of injunction as applied to labor-unions, has not been abused. If this abuse is corrected there will be no serious demand on the part of labor-unions for any law exempting laborers from the same responsibility that applies to all other organizations. But, if the courts have not sufficient fairness to treat labor-unions squarely, and give them the benefit of full hearing in cases of injunction, the law should limit the power of the courts in injunction cases.

If Congress would pass a law compelling United States Courts in all cases of injunction against whomsoever to give immediate hearing to all, the legitimate complaint against injunctions would be gone. Then, those who asked for the injunction would have to prove that there was danger of disturbance, and the laborers would have ample opportunity to show that there was not. The mere word of a corporation manager would then not be sufficient to use the court to aid in the defeat of strikes. This would have a wholesome effect in several ways. It would compel corporations and employers to be more careful and considerate, and in fact, have a bona fide reason for asking for an injunction. On the other hand, it would make laborers more careful about giving grounds for believing that the public peace and the safety of property were in danger. There would be fewer injunctions and less reason for injunctions, and unreasonable injunctions could be vacated before they seriously injured the rights of the laborers.

## INFLUENCE OF WEALTH ON "THE HIGHER LIFE"

But it is an evil thing for the nation, as for the individual, if material well-being is accepted as in itself all-sufficient; such well-being is worthless, save as a foundation on which to build the higher life.—*Theodore Roosevelt.*

THIS sentiment from a recent address, shows that, despite his campaign against corporations, President Roosevelt, has not fallen to the level of the namby-pamby utterances which so steadily issue from college professors, poets, and preachers about the deadly influence of wealth.

It has become the fashion, now-a-days, with a certain class of public teachers, to frown upon wealth and speak of it only in terms of contempt. Even men like Dr. Felix Adler feel called upon to talk of modern society as the "age of mammon" and "commercialized morality." In fact, the general tone of the pulpit, college, professional class, social reformers, and a considerable portion of the press is much like a continuous wail against materialism. For the most part, these prophets of pessimism seem to be trying to create the impression, both at home and abroad, that the American people are mere worshipers of wealth to the exclusion of all that makes for a higher social life. The dissemination of this false sentiment is injurious to every phase of the national life. It tends to create among the masses at home, and among cynical observers abroad, a viciously false opinion of the American people. Moreover, it furnishes food for every form of disturbing propaganda; socialism, populism, and anarchy are all fed by this sentiment. It is on the strength of the common belief thus created by the half-true utterances of these respectable pessimists, that the Hearsts and Bryans and Debses are enabled to appeal to

class feeling against the existing institutions of society, and particularly against prosperous, industrial enterprises.

Social antagonism rests largely on this false sentiment about the injurious influence of wealth and the growing worship of "materialism." The free-traders encourage it, unintentionally perhaps, in their constant attack upon the industries of the country. In their effort to make odious the protection policy, they take every advantage of morbid class feeling, and try to brand every protected industry as battenning upon favoritism, as robbing the poor to make a favored class inordinately rich. The next step, and they frequently take it, is to show the worthlessness of these rich people, and make it appear that their whole moral effect is to debauch and degrade society. This is eagerly taken up by those opposed to trusts, and they repeat the same refrain and clamor for repressive legislation, to check the success of fortune-makers in business. The successful business men of the country are thus caricatured and abused personally in the press, and held up to the public scorn as debasers of the nation.

This has become so general that it is scarcely respectable to speak of men like Rockefeller, Morgan, Harriman, Gould, Hill, and the Vanderbilts except with disapproval. The fashion is so all-pervading, that publications like *Harp-er's Weekly* and *McClure's Magazine* feel called upon to get in line with the yellow Hearst publications.

The trade-unions naturally take all this seriously and incorporate it as a part of their general complaint against capital. The miners, farmers, and cattlemen, all in their own way with a little different point of view, make this opposition to "materialism" the basis for their antagonism to organized capital. In some cases, of course, it is the railroads, in others it is the banks, in others the manufacturers; but, it all amounts to the same thing; namely, antagonism to successful organized enterprises.



Of course, a man like Hearst, who owns millions that were acquired in this fashion, does not believe anything of this kind. He does not believe that large wealth is a bad thing. He is simply trading upon it for sensational and political purposes, and a considerable proportion of those who advocate free trade do not believe it, but they simply use it to further their anti-protection propaganda. When appealing to individuals, they will call protection a species of socialism, but when appealing to the working men, they will call it a system for robbing the poor to fatten the unrighteous rich.

For the most part all this rests upon a false presentation of the case. It is not true that the growth of wealth, nor even the growth of large fortunes, has a tendency to prevent the development of the higher phase of individual and social life. On the contrary, the increase of wealth is an indispensable condition of the development of intellectual, ethical, and social culture. The development of the higher life never comes with poverty, nor with the meagerness of wealth. It may be said that, in medieval and even ancient times, and in some European and Asiatic countries today, there is a certain refinement that is not contaminated by the eager pursuit of wealth. In all such cases, whether it be in India, Japan, ancient Greece, or Rome, medieval or modern Europe, this culture was preceded and accompanied often by great wealth, and always by sufficient wealth to give great leisure. To be sure, the masses were poor; but the masses were also not refined; they were not cultured, they had none of the higher life. They were beasts of burden, industrial drudges, an unrecognized element in the social or political institutions of the nation.

There never was a poor country, or a poor class in any country, that made great advance in intellectual and social culture. The higher life never did, and never can, develop in poverty. It must have wealth. This preaching against

wealth as the enemy of culture is false. Of course these people can quote Matthew Arnold: "Machinery and wealth have materialized the upper classes, vulgarized the middle classes, and brutalized the lower classes." But Matthew Arnold was wrong. His view is not borne out by experience anywhere. It was fine rhetoric, but false doctrine. No amount of respectability can give validity to such a statement, or soundness to such doctrine.

It is encouraging to note, that, President Roosevelt, who often goes very near the edge on this subject, does not lose sight of the fact, that material well-being, the increase of wealth, and the growth of industrial prosperity, are indispensable conditions of national progress. But this statement quoted above, shows that he is not entirely free from the fear that growing wealth is dangerous to the national welfare. After speaking of the benefits of material prosperity, he feels called upon to add the qualification, "but it is an evil thing for the nation, as for the individual, if material well-being is accepted as in itself all sufficient. Such well-being is worthless, save as a foundation on which to build the higher life." As if there could be an increase in the material well-being of the nation without a growth of the "higher life." It is exactly here that the misconception regarding this whole subject arises. This kind of reasoning proceeds upon the presumption that the development of the higher life, or the growth of intellectual, moral, and social culture in the community, is something entirely apart from the material well-being of the people. Such an assumption is entirely erroneous. It is even a perversion of all that is true upon the subject.

Everything that goes to make up what we call the higher life is the outgrowth of better material conditions. Given the growth of material well-being, the development of the higher life can not be prevented. It is not correct, therefore, to say, "such well-being is worthless, save as a founda-

tion on which to build the higher life." The fact is, such well-being is never "worthless." Material well-being is always good everywhere, under all conditions. It would be good even if it did not serve as a foundation for the higher life; but it always does serve as such foundation.

The first condition in a nation's elevation in the scale of civilization is its material well-being. If it lacks this, it lacks all, because it lacks the very conditions of development. Take away the growth of material well-being, and you take away the possibility of an advancing civilization; you take away the possibility of freedom of culture, of individual strength, of democratic institutions. Deprive the nation of material well-being, and you give it, and you insure to it, poverty, ignorance, superstition, and despotism.

As a general proposition for a nation there is no such thing as having a great progress in material well-being, and no development in a higher phase of civilized life. Those who reason in this fashion delight in pointing us to ancient Greece and Rome, with the statement that, with the growth of wealth moral degeneracy and social and political disintegration set in. This is only partly true; and it should be remembered that the whole economic structure of society, and the methods by which material welfare was created and distributed were radically different from those of the present. In the first place, the masses were slaves. The distribution of wealth was not dependent upon economic conditions, but governed by arbitrary distribution. The wealth of the small class was not acquired by economic methods. In Rome, for instance, it was largely acquired by military confiscation, not by economic production. Wealth acquired by such means is much the same as that obtained by train robbers, it demoralizes and degenerates because the process of acquisition is uneconomic and hence immoral. Under such conditions, in a majority of cases, the increase of the wealth of one group, involves the impoverishment of an-



other group. It has substantially the same economic, moral, and social effect as stealing; but this is not true of the acquisition or distribution of wealth under modern conditions of economic production.

The only feature of modern society which represents this predatory method of wealth acquisition is the militarism that confiscates the property of neighboring peoples, and this remnant of barbarism recedes and must ultimately disappear, with the growth of industrialism. Under militarism, the acquisition of wealth, depended upon the power to take it; under industrialism, upon the capacity to produce it. Large production under industrialism requires extensive consumption. It depends upon the extent of the market, rather than the power of the musket. This means that the success and accumulation of wealth by the rich depends on the wide distribution of the products among the poor. In other words the material prosperity of the capitalist depends upon, and can not go ahead without, the increased welfare, represented in large consumption by the masses. Large consumption by the millions means more permanent welfare. Every increase in the permanent material welfare of the masses of the country always carries with it a widening diversification of their industrial and social experience. It is this increase of social experiences, of the use and consumption of things, that educates, and without it there can be no great educational advance in any of the lines of culture and refinement which make for character building. By having and using things people get increased variety of social experiences, that cultivate the tastes, refine the manners, broaden the ideas and elevate the aspirations toward a higher social life.

Since it is impossible, under the economic forces of industrialism, to increase the production of wealth and make large productive enterprises profitable, without at the same time increasing the consumption of wealth by the common

people, it is impossible to increase the material welfare without promoting the development of the higher life. To say, therefore, that "it is an evil thing for the nation, as for the individual, if material well-being is accepted, as in itself all-sufficient" is erroneous and very misleading. Material well-being for the nation is never an "evil thing" no matter how it is accepted by the Rockefellers, Carnegies, Goulds, and Vanderbilts even if they think it "all-sufficient," which, individually, they sometimes do. It is impossible for them not to promote the development of the higher life, if they do but promote the material well-being of the nation. It does not depend upon their motives, nor how they accept it. The results are wholly independent of their intention. In the very nature of things, material prosperity can not go on without promoting the forces which make for civilization.

All this talk about the increase of well-being as an evil is false, misleading, and detrimental. We should not expect the great capitalists of our time to be ethical teachers, culture preachers, nor art connoisseurs. Suffice it that they are material welfare producers; suffice it that they are promoters of prosperity. It is for the educators in the various lines of culture to do the rest, to encourage new diversifications, and put ideas into the hundred-and-one avenues of diversified tastes, all of which is educating and elevating.

It is the duty of statesmen in the city, state, and nation to give all the opportunities possible to the masses for acquiring wealth and leisure, and being surrounded by opportunities that encourage and stimulate the new diversifying and broadening ideas. It is the part of wise statesmanship to encourage all this in every sphere of social life, whether it take the form of labor-unions, social clubs, or whatsoever, if it tends to give opportunity for new experiences, which tend to stimulate and broaden the social horizon.

It is the duty, as it is the interest, of the great leaders and

directors of industry, to subjugate and harness nature to the work of increasing the wealth *per capita* of the community. If this is not done, all the efforts of the colleges and churches and organizations of different kind, will be futile. The greatest of all contributions to civilization is the increase of the material welfare of the community. The material welfare of the country is increased only by the creation of profits. It is the surplus called profits, thus created by the energy and improved effort of the capitalist to make nature yield more for the same cost, that adds to the wealth and welfare of society; and without this there can be no progress.

Any doctrine or any policy which treats the increase of wealth or material well-being in a nation as an evil, or as dangerous, or as even doubtful, is a hindrance to progress. All society and civilization is a matter of growth, and it all grows out of the activities and diversified experiences that come of increased material welfare. This does not mean that there are no evils connected with wealth, or that the rapid march of industrial prosperity does not bring with it disadvantages; but it does mean that it brings many times more advantages than disadvantages, and that the educating, refining, and cultivating processes which the increase of material welfare sets in motion, constantly tend to correct and eliminate the "evils" and ultimately promote the growth of a higher and broader life, and a more ethical and cultured civilization.

This whole doctrine about wealth being vulgarizing and brutalizing and inimical to the growth of a higher social life is pure heresy. It is contrary to all the history of social development. It is born of a morbid sentiment and class prejudice. It is based on a misconception of the real relation of economic wealth production and distribution to the evolution of higher social life.



## THE DEATH OF SENATOR HANNA

IN THE DEATH of Senator Hanna the nation has lost one of its foremost statesmen, the Republican party has lost its greatest leader, and the labor movement has lost a powerful friend and cooperator.

There are few men in public life in this country who so completely won their way to the confidence and respect of the American people as did Senator Hanna. He came into prominence as the manager of the "McKinley movement." He had to encounter more abuse, misrepresentation, and caricaturing than was the lot of any other public man. He was described in speeches, articles, and cartoons as a "money-bag" politician, as a man devoid of high principle or of real public interest.

But he went about his business without being in the least soured by this wholesale ill-treatment; nay, more, he even seemed to take greater and greater interest in the most important questions of public concern, and to be more sympathetic and considerate of the welfare of the masses, from whom he received nothing but abuse. As he came to be known, he grew in public esteem by sheer dint of his public services. In his party, he easily became the national leader. In the Senate, though a late-comer, he soon became an indispensable factor, and was, at his death, the recognized leader in the great labor movement, although for years he received nothing but contumely from the labor ranks. He became a champion of rational unionism, and in this work rendered, perhaps, his greatest service to workmen.

As president of the Civic Federation, he contributed more than any dozen other men to the effective work of that organization. In his work there, the working men, the leaders of the trade-union movement came to know him, and

they only had to know him to honor and respect him, and many of them really loved him. In more than one meeting at which the writer was present, labor leaders who had theretofore been inveterate enemies of Mark Hanna, rose as in a religious experience meeting, to make confession of their change of heart regarding him, and frankly admitted that they had spent years in misrepresenting and abusing Senator Hanna to every one with whom they had influence, or because of the prejudice they had acquired against him.

It is the lot of few men to face such opposition and, by sheer dint of sympathetic and patriotic devotion to public service, to convert his enemies into friends, and become the recognized leader in the public affairs of a great nation. No more conclusive evidence of this change of heart (for that was what it was) of the American people toward Senator Hanna, could be given than was shown in his two elections to the United States Senate. His first election took place when he was under the ban of public prejudice, but after a protracted contest he was elected by one vote. After six years' service in the Senate and out of it, he was a candidate for reelection and the contest was made not in the legislature, but before the people of Ohio in the election of legislators. Mr. Tom Johnson, the most popular politician in the state, was the leader of the opposition forces, and Mr. Bryan was engaged to go from town to town, throughout the state, and abuse Senator Hanna. The change of popular sentiment toward Senator Hanna was so great, that, despite all this, he was elected by the largest majority ever given to a United States Senator in the Republican state of Ohio.

Had Senator Hanna lived, and enjoyed good health, there is little doubt his growing popularity would have forced his nomination for president, and of his election nobody would have entertained a doubt.

## THE VENEZUELA DECISION—A CATASTROPHE

STANHOPE SAMS

AFTER pronouncing, in the Venezuela case, a decision that makes wreck of all hope of an early and just view of international arbitration, and which could well have come from a court of the dark ages, the Hague Tribunal declares that in its investigation it found "precious evidence in favor of the great principle of arbitration in all phases of international conflict."

Not since the declaration that the ends of peace had been attained by the crushing of Poland beneath the heels of Russia, has so sardonic an utterance come from principalities or powers. It is an endorsement by a "peace" tribunal of the military doctrine of brute force, and a pronouncement that the strong peoples of the world have the right to rule the weak, and that the ordinary principles of justice can not yet be applied in controversies between nations. It is a decision that will greatly please, and is eminently suited to, the two despotic powers, Russia and Austria, from which the Tsar chose the three members of the Tribunal; but it will ever be regarded by enlightened thinkers as a retreat toward the dark abysses of medievalism. It seems to sweep away at a stroke all the claims of this Tribunal to be an arbitrator for the promotion of peace.

The controversy between Venezuela and the powers that held claims against her was one that admitted of a decision in the interest of peace, but the Hague Tribunal seemed to find it possible to follow only the paths of militarism and despotism. The claims against the South-American republic arose out of the disorder of revolution, and Venezuela has never been able to meet them promptly or satisfactorily. That she has notoriously violated every sort of obligation,



no one will deny; but the action of Germany, Great Britain, and Italy in humiliating her and forcing her to agree to pay them before her other creditors was shameful and a lasting reproach to those nations. They forced Venezuela to sign a protocol in February, 1903, by the terms of which they would be given the preference over other creditors who refrained from attacking an already prostrate and desperate people. Afterward, Venezuela signed a protocol with other nations, among which was the United States, agreeing to settle their claims. In the meanwhile Venezuela agreed to give the three blockading powers preferential treatment, in setting aside thirty per cent. of the customs receipts at her two most prominent ports, La Guaira and Puerto Cabello. The decision of the court was that the three blockading powers have the right to this thirty per cent., and the United States is charged with the unpleasant task of enforcing the order of the court.

In making this decision, the Hague Tribunal asserts that it confined itself to the two sets of protocols or agreements between Venezuela and her creditors, and did not, and could not, consider any other question. This, together with the declaration that it had found precious evidence in favor of arbitration seems to have been made to off-set and disarm the dreaded censure of the employment of brute force in collecting the claims of one nation against another. If such was the object, it has failed. While the European press and other organs of public opinion have accepted the decision almost without protest, in this country, where opinion is less awed and throttled, there has been a spontaneous outcry against the injustice of the decision, and against its injurious effects. It is deplored that a tribunal, constituted as is the Hague Tribunal, should have lent its influence to the bolstering up of medieval methods in this age of peaceful controversies.

If it had been merely a question of two sets of agreements,

the decision of the Tribunal could have been justified. But if all the agreements were accepted as of equal validity, then it seems that the court has gone out of its way to give preference to those agreements that were made under duress. The only virtue in the agreements with Germany, England, and Italy was that they had been obtained by force. This fact might have vitiated them before a court of justice; it certainly would vitiate them before the court of conscience. It is indeed remarkable that the peace tribunal should consider that an agreement forced at the mouth of cannon should have preference over one arrived at through methods of friendliness and peace.

The real question before the Hague Tribunal was not as to the superiority of either set of agreements, but as to whether an agreement extorted by force should be superior to one obtained through peaceful means. The decision is distinctly in favor of force and war, and it has struck at the very foundations of the Hague Tribunal itself, which was established for the purpose of ensuring peace, instead of war. That it could so soon break down, and at a time when the majority of the court was composed of Russians, seems to throw doubt upon the sincerity of the Tsar who created the court and who has, by his shambling and irritating course toward Japan, proved himself as much of an imperialist and despoiler as any of his ancestors.

It would have been considered eminently fair if the Tribunal had put all claims upon an equal basis, and treated the blockading powers merely as international constables enforcing an almost universal claim against this international culprit. It would also have been considered just and as a sign of hopefulness, if it had refused to justify the action of the international bullies who employed their fleets to extort money from Venezuela. It would have conferred a great boon upon mankind if it had declared that a claim

against a nation can not be made righteous merely because an agreement to pay it is extorted at the cannon's mouth.

Mr. Wayne MacVeagh, in writing of the decision says :

Friends of arbitration and of peace must not expect the world's ways to be changed in a day. Nor, perhaps, can arbitrators who are subjects of such great military monarchies as Russia and Austria in Europe, be fairly expected to take a very humane view of the rights of a weak and defenseless South-American republic. We must take human nature as it is, even in arbitrators, and it must be remembered that for many years strong nations have been at their pleasure attacking and despoiling weak nations.

But this is just what the Hague Tribunal was created for—the prevention of the despoiling of weak nations; and in this view, the decision must be regarded as an international catastrophe. The judges selected by the Tsar were Count Muraviev, Russian Minister of Justice; De Martens, a famous authority on international law; and Henri Lammasch, of Austria. One may as well have expected figs of thistles and grapes of thorns as democratic justice from these products of centuries of imperialism and autocracy. It would have been useless to expect any good out of this Nazareth. True to the training of generations of despotism, they have rendered unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's.

In itself the decision is not as important as will be its far-reaching effects upon arbitration. Fortunately Venezuela will not be injured by paying any one creditor before another, as it must pay all in time. It makes no difference whether she pays first those that treated her with respect and patience, or the ones that bullied her. The real injury is to the cause of international arbitration. This will perhaps be irremediable for many years. It will be long before the world resumes confidence in Hague Tribunals. The weak nations will possibly prefer the arbitration of the sword to this military tribunal; and the United States, to whom has been assigned the disagreeable task of acting as



sheriff for the extortion of money from Venezuela to pay the claim of the three blockading powers, will hesitate long before she will consent to take any claim to The Hague. Beyond all else, the movement for international arbitration, which is as old at least as the first amphictyonic council of Greece, has received a wound that may prove fatal. Before going to the Hague Tribunal, nations that now have idle navies, will find it advisable to devastate the coasts of the weak powers that owe them money, and may then go with clean hands and pure hearts, and establish righteous and preferential claims upon the customs receipts of their enemies' ports.

As if this unfortunate decision were not enough in itself to discredit the Tribunal, its president, Count Muraviev, seized the opportunity, in delivering the opinion, to charge Japan with violating international law by attacking Russia before a formal declaration of war. Ordinarily, the Hague Tribunal would have been a very poor stage from which to make such an announcement; but, in view of the decision that had just been delivered, a more appropriate forum could not have been found at any time in history. It is well known that Japan had recourse to every diplomatic means before fighting her colossal antagonist. On the other hand, Russia resorted to every sort of procrastination in order to postpone fighting until the spring thaw. Never has a country shown to greater disadvantage than Russia in the diplomatic negotiation between St. Petersburg and Tōkyō. The Japanese, it seems, were straightforward, frank, and plain, while Russia resorted to every possible evasion merely for the purpose of delay, and for the purpose of provoking Japan to strike the first blow. The world was as much amazed at the patience exhibited by the Japanese as it has since been amazed by their magnificent energy and brilliant fighting. Russia was the last country in the world to make such an assertion as it made through her

mouthpiece, Count Muraviev, at the Hague. In the Crimea, she began military operations before the declaration of war, and in the late war in Turkey, her armies crossed the boundaries twenty-four hours before war was declared. She invaded Finland in 1808 even before she broke off diplomatic relations. Besides, she gave to the world her solemn pledge that, on October 8, 1903, she would evacuate Manchuria, but instead of evacuating the country, she merely strengthened her hold upon it. She will never relinquish, except under compulsion, what she has seized by force or guile. It does not comport well with her great size and her great pretensions, to resort to imbecile "protests" against Japan whenever she is worsted in diplomacy or in battle.

Taken all in all—the decision defending the use of force, and the arrogant speech of the president—the decision of the Hague Tribunal can be regarded only as a great catastrophe. It is as if all the weak nations were in the arena, and the judges have turned down their thumbs to authorize their annihilation by the great powers of the world.

## HOW COLONIES ARE GOVERNED

### FRENCH EXPERIMENTS IN THE NEW AND IN THE OLD WORLD

STEPHEN PIERCE DUGGAN, PH. D.

OF THE MAGNIFICENT colonial empire which France had established in America, Africa, and India during the eighteenth century, the débris which remained at the close of the Revolutionary period—and that only by the grace of Great Britain—included in America, Martinique, Guadeloupe and its dependencies in the Antilles, the islets of St. Pierre and Miquelon off Newfoundland, and Guiana; in Africa, a few trading posts in Senegal and the island of Réunion; and in India, Pondichéry and four other trading posts. Moreover, the change of masters and the ruin of their commerce during the war, and the emancipation of the slaves by the Revolutionary government in 1794 had reduced them to a low degree of economic and social distress. We are not surprised, therefore, that French statesmen and economists, especially of the liberal school, intent upon the political and economic rehabilitation of their country after 1815, discouraged all efforts toward renewed colonization. And we find that few of the additions made to the French colonial empire before 1870 were the results of a systematic attempt at colonization.

In 1830, nominally to avenge an insult to the French consul-general, really to avert an impending revolution, the government of the Restoration commenced the occupation of Algiers, but it was only after much hesitation that the July Monarchy decided to stay there. Under Gen. Faidherbe, "promoted" by the Second Empire in 1854 to be Governor of Senegal, began the forward movement by



French officers and explorers who, usually upon their own initiative, gradually brought much of northern and western Africa under the French flag.<sup>1</sup> In 1861, as a result of the massacre of missionaries in Cochin-China, the French occupied that country and extended their protectorate to Cambodia in 1868. Moreover, during the building of the Suez Canal, Obock at the entrance to the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb was occupied, 1864. So that although true to the English alliance, which prevented an aggressive colonial policy, Napoleon III placed France on the road to a great colonial empire.

With the definitive establishment of the Republic in 1875, all opposition and indifference to colonial expansion in France disappeared. Led by Gambetta, Jules Ferry, and others, France determined to regain over the seas the power, prestige, and territory which she had lost in Europe.<sup>2</sup> Following a systematic policy of annexation, Tunis was occupied in 1881 to protect Algiers; Anam and Tongking (1884-1893) to defend Cochin-China and to tap the rich southern provinces of the Chinese Empire; and the African possessions were rounded out by the exploration and annexation of French Kongo; Dahomey, and the French Sudan. Today, the French colonial empire is second only to that of Great Britain and has an area of 4,000,000 square miles and a population of 52,000,000,<sup>3</sup> most of which have been acquired since 1880. No people, as Sir Charles Dilke has said, has done so much in so short a time. And the end is

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<sup>1</sup>A brief but excellent account of their work is found in Sir H. H. Johnston's *Colonization of Africa*, Chapters VII, X, and XV.

<sup>2</sup>In this ambition, she was encouraged by Bismarck, who hoped thereby to divert her attention from Alsace-Lorraine and to embroil her with other nations. The occupation of Tunis in 1881 was the cause of Italy joining the Triple Alliance. See Debidour, *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe depuis 1814*. Vol. II, p. 542.

<sup>3</sup>*Statesman's Year Book* for 1903, p. 60.

not yet, for the French people will never be content until the occupation of Morocco shall have consolidated their African empire, and made the western Mediterranean a French lake.<sup>4</sup> Though thousands of lives and billions of francs have been expended on the colonies; though few of them besides Tunis are self-supporting, the French people are nevertheless enthusiastically devoted to the colonial cause. "The enormous colonial empire which we have built up by military and diplomatic means and which it is important to develop to-day economically and socially is the only chance which remains to France to continue an active and influential nation."<sup>5</sup> The French colonial empire is almost wholly in tropical or subtropical regions, a fact upon which French writers find cause for congratulation. To the criticism that a nation of stay-at-homes, with a stationary population, should not undertake the acquisition of a colonial empire, they answer that though France can not hope to found settlement colonies, she has plenty of men to administer commercial and exploitation colonies.

What has been the policy adopted by France toward the colonies? Unfortunately she has wavered between a policy of autonomy and one of assimilation. The monarchy and the empire have always regarded the colonies as *pays d'exception*, the interests of which differed from those of the mother country and which ought, therefore, to be given administrative and a certain degree of legislative freedom, but no representation in the national legislature. The Republic, in the three periods of its existence, has aimed to develop the ideal expressed in Article VI of the Constitution of 1795. "The French colonies are an integral part of

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<sup>4</sup>See *La France au Maroc* in *La Nouvelle Revue* for 1903; also Chailly-Bert, *The Colonial Policy of France in the Fortnightly Review* for Aug., 1903.

<sup>5</sup>Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes*. Vol. II, p. 321, 5th Edition, 1902.

the Republic and are placed under the same constitutional law,"<sup>6</sup> i. e. it has adopted a policy of centralized assimilation, granting to the colonies representation in the national parliament and administering them directly from Paris as it does the French departments. The Republic has cause for gratitude to the colonies, for the Wallon amendment imposing upon McMahon the title of President in 1875 and thereby definitively establishing the Republic was carried only by means of the votes of the colonial deputies. As a result, for two decades thereafter, the colonies were granted almost any wish they expressed. The assimilation of the colonies to the mother country has entailed the introduction into them of French political institutions such as manhood suffrage and popular representation, French administration, and French law. What has been the result?

Not a single benefit to the colonies themselves can be traced either to manhood suffrage or parliamentary representation which were reintroduced into the colonies in 1871. But many evils may. The Antilles, Guiana, and Réunion suffered the most, for they had been granted General Councils, which under the autonomy policy of the Second Empire, had considerable powers of local legislation and administration. These old colonies have always been plantation colonies settled by French citizens who have owned and managed large estates worked by negroes. The whites have naturally been in a small minority and manhood suffrage placed political power in the hands of the negro majority who unite to the hatred of the black for the white the enmity of the poor for the rich. The inevitable consequence followed in due time. The negroes perceived their power and obtained control of the situation. The results of that control have been lamentable. Not only have the whites been eliminated from all the councils, juries, and magistra-

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<sup>6</sup>The Constitution of 1795 can be found in the Annual Register for that year.



cies, but the local administration impedes the development of their industries and frequently takes the form of persecution.<sup>7</sup> Political life consists simply in a struggle for the offices which have been multiplied to such an extent that Martinique has 1,400 officeholders out of 14,000 men who could possibly hold civil service positions. Large sums are voted for public education and free scholarships while the appropriations for roads, harbors, and public works generally, are carefully kept down. There has been in consequence a steady immigration of the whites from the French Antilles, which but for the control of the home government would probably relapse into another San Domingo.<sup>8</sup> The experience of Guiana is similar to that of the Antilles. Among the remainder of the old colonies universal suffrage has become a ridiculous farce. In Senegal, the local chiefs sell the votes of the natives in blocks. In the Indian settlements, the electoral agents have complete control, electing whom they please and stuffing the ballot boxes when necessary.<sup>9</sup> In the more recent colonies, the suffrage has not been extended to the natives, but confined to the French settlers. The provincial councils of the three departments of Algiers, therefore, represent only the French element who spend the taxes collected from the natives for the exclusive benefit of the French settlers. In Cochin-China, though representation on the colonial council which was established in 1880 was granted to the natives, the official element always retained the majority, and the control of the council passed into the hands of functionaries and contractors. The

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<sup>7</sup>See Mury, *Les Esclaves Blancs aux Antilles Francaises* in *Le Correspondant*, June 10, 1899.

<sup>8</sup>A most illuminating discussion of this subject is that of Prof. Reinsch, "French Experience with Representative Government in the West Indies" in *American Historical Review*. VI, 475.

<sup>9</sup>See D'Estournelle de Constant, "Contre la Représentation Coloniale" in *La Revue de Paris*, Jan., 1899.

resulting jobbery and corruption were so outrageous that a decree of 1888 prohibited anyone becoming a councilor who was at the same time a government contractor. In the meantime, thousands of natives were resorting to piracy and brigandage as the only refuge from poverty and oppression.<sup>10</sup>

Nor have the results of manhood suffrage been any better for the mother country. Until very recently, French governments have usually needed all the votes they could get to maintain themselves in office. The seven senators and sixteen deputies from the colonies, who always hang together, have formed one of the most influential groups in the legislature, and in return for their votes have generally obtained what they wanted. They have controlled the patronage in all the colonies, and representing the narrow and partizan views of their constituents, they have been the chief obstacle to colonial reform and to the overthrow of the policy of assimilation. Moreover, being more independent in national affairs than are the representatives of French constituencies they have sometimes endangered the national policy both in domestic and foreign affairs. However, the annexation of the new territories, Tunis, Anam, Tongking, and Madagascar have rendered the colonies with representation of less importance relatively than heretofore. And the splendid success of Tunis has made evident the folly of representative institutions in tropical colonies. Tunis is not considered a colony but a protectorate under the immediate control of the minister of foreign affairs. The latter is represented by a resident at the court of the bey. The native authorities have everywhere been retained and the native leaders treated with respect and consideration, the result being that no friction has been caused by the presence of the French *contrôleurs* who have been put in charge of the thirteen districts

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<sup>10</sup>See Henry Norman, *Peoples and Politics of the Far East*. Chapters IV, V, VI, VII.

into which the country is divided. For the protection of the interests of the French element, various consultative bodies have been formed to advise the ministry of the bey, which consists of seven Frenchmen and two natives. But it is to be noticed that in the composition of these bodies the principle of the representation of interests, not of numbers, has been adopted, the members representing the various chambers of commerce, of agriculture, and other interests. Tunis has been an object-lesson to Frenchmen as to the efficacy of a system approaching that of the British crown colony.<sup>11</sup>

The policy of assimilation has resulted in the direct control of the colonies by the home government at Paris and in the growth of a complicated machinery of administration. Legislation for the colonies is chiefly in the hands of the national executive who makes law by decree—the *système des décrets*. The minister of colonies has the right to issue executive ordinances, *arrêtés*, and the governor of the colony can issue local ordinances in certain matters. Besides this executive legislation, the national legislature, the Council of State, and the colonial councils have the right to make laws, the last within certain limits. This sixfold division of legislative power frequently results in confusion as to the legality of measures and in an interference in administration by *décret* and *arrêté* most annoying to both settler and native and injurious to industry and progress. Most of the colonies are under the minister of the colonies, whose office was established in 1894. But Algiers is considered to be part of France for administrative purposes and, therefore, each department of government in France controls the affairs of its department in Algiers also. Tunis, as before mentioned, being a protectorate, is under the direct administration of the minister of foreign affairs, but Anam, Tongking, and Madagascar, though still called protectorates

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<sup>11</sup>Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes*, Vol. II, pp. 85-97.



officially are under the administration of the minister of the colonies. One of the peculiar features of the French system of colonial administration is the existence of a large number of commissioners of inspection who carefully watch the colonial officials. The governor of a colony is merely the agent of the central government. His freedom of action is bound by minute directions from the central authorities who attempt to foresee every difficulty and to provide for it. And he, in turn, fetters the actions of his subordinates and of the local authorities. Undoubtedly, the worst defect of French colonial administration is the entire dependence of the officials upon orders from above and the utter lack of the spirit of self-reliance and initiative. Moreover, the custom of transferring officials, even governors, from one colony to another at the end of a short period of service, prevents their becoming familiar with the wants and interests of the colonies they are sent to govern.<sup>12</sup> Of all the colonial nations of to-day, the French employ the largest number of functionaries relatively speaking, e. g. Cochin-China with a population of 2,000,000 has a ratio of one European official to every 1,430 of the inhabitants, while Java with 28,000,000 employs only one to every 5,400. Entrance to the French colonial service is to be obtained either by graduation from the colonial school, an institution for the training of colonial civil servants, or by competitive examination. The service is divided into numerous grades and promotion is made according to the record of service, though, unfortunately, political influence at Paris frequently counts for much. One organ of French colonial government that might be made of considerable value is the *Conseil Supérieur des Colonies*. It is composed of all the representatives of the colonies in the national legislature; ex officio

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<sup>12</sup>See La Nouvelle Revue for 1898 for an admirable criticism of this and other defects of the French Colonial System. The article is entitled "Nos Colonies."

members; delegates from the colonies, from French chambers of commerce, and from important colonial societies; and men known for their special knowledge or experience in colonial affairs. The council has only consultative functions, giving advice to the colonial ministry on matters of legislation and administration. As yet, it has not proved to be very influential. Perhaps it is too large.<sup>13</sup>

The policy of assimilation has had as one effect the gradual expansion of French jurisprudence throughout most of the colonies, and the consequent disappearance of the native customary law. In nearly all colonies, the law of the mother country is introduced as the personal law of its nationals and spreads very gradually to the natives, but in some of the French colonies, notably Algiers and Cochin-China, this tendency has been hastened by legislation to such an extent that the native political and legal institutions have been almost wholly destroyed. In the case of Algiers, the policy has been carried so far that even in criminal courts for the trial of natives the juries are composed exclusively of Frenchmen. As a strong race hatred exists between the settlers and the natives, the latter are tried by juries of their enemies, who have frequently displayed great severity.<sup>14</sup> In Cochin-China the process has not extended so far, there being no juries in criminal cases; but the judge, always a Frenchman, is assisted by assessors who are natives if the accused be a native. The unfortunate results of this policy of legal assimilation in Algiers and Cochin-China opened the eyes of the French to its unwisdom, and in the protectorates of Anam and Tongking, the native courts and the customary law have been retained for the natives, French law having been introduced only for non-natives. The mandarins in Anam and Tongking, who had been viewed by the French

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<sup>13</sup>Reinsch, *Colonial Government*, Part III.

<sup>14</sup>Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la Colonisation*, Vol. I, p. 479.

with the greatest suspicion in the beginning of their occupation, have been of inestimable service in the pacification of the country since they were replaced in their position as the natural leaders of the people.<sup>15</sup>

Under the autonomy policy of the monarchy, and the empire, the old restrictive colonial policy of the eighteenth century, the *Pacte Colonial*, was gradually permitted to fall into desuetude and was finally abolished in 1861. The colonies were given a large measure of control over their own fiscal affairs including the right to determine their own tariffs. But under the assimilation policy of the third Republic, this privilege was gradually restricted until in 1892 it was withdrawn altogether and the French protective tariff extended to all the colonies. That this policy has benefited the mother country is doubtful, that it has injured the colonies is certain. It was adopted against the protests of most of the colonies under the assumption that it would benefit the industries of the mother country and reimburse it indirectly for the enormous expenditures it had made in the colonies. But the commerce of France with the colonies is only 10 per cent. of the total commerce. France has devoted a great deal of energy during the past decade to increasing her trade with her colonies and she has succeeded, but it is a question whether that success has not been at the expense of her trade with foreign nations which has increased but very little.<sup>16</sup> A policy which will in any way advance a 10

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<sup>15</sup>Bourne, a French colonial experiment in the Far East. Yale Review, May, 1899. But see Cr  pet, *La Colonisation Francaise en Indo-Chine* in *La Nouvelle Revue* for 1903. He fears that the French are making the same mistake in Anam and Tongking that they previously made in Cochin-China.

<sup>16</sup>A comparison of the total commerce of France for the years 1890 and 1900, as given in the *Statesman's Year Book* for 1893 and 1903, shows an increase of 11 per cent.; the figures for the commerce of France with her colonies for the same years show an increase of 41 per cent.



per cent. trade at the expense of a 90 per cent. trade is of doubtful value. The fiscal relations of France with her colonies are very intricate, due to the fact that the expenses and receipts of the colonies are divided into two budgets, the one constituting a part of the budget of the home government, the other forming a separate colonial budget. This is rendered more complicated by the system of direct subvention to the colonies on the one hand and of contributions to the mother country on the other.<sup>17</sup> Few of the French colonies besides Tunis pay for the expenses of administration, and the deficits have to be met by the home government. In the budget of 1903, the expenditure of France directly on the colonial service was 96,000,000 francs, and on Algiers, which is not considered a colony, it was 74,000,000, a total of 170,000,000 francs.<sup>18</sup>

The history of France since 1789 has been the history of a policy *sic vos non vobis*. Nowhere has this been better illustrated than in the case of the colonies. France has certainly not exploited her colonies, the reverse rather has been the case. Whatever may have been the motive, no finer instance can be shown of willingness to sacrifice blood and treasure in bringing civilization into waste and dark places. And though the mistakes have been many, the reforms in recent years have also been many. Civil government has almost everywhere in the colonies superseded military. The home government has entered upon a policy of requiring the colonies to be self-supporting, e. g., by the laws of April 13, 1900, the colonies which have general councils are held responsible for all civil and police expenditures incurred by

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<sup>17</sup>The fiscal relations of France with her colonies are briefly and clearly set forth by Prof. E. R. Seligman in the Publications of the American Economic Society for 1900.

<sup>18</sup>An admirable review of the actual financial, industrial, and commercial conditions of the French colonies is made by H. A. Lee in the Diplomatic and Consular Reports of Great Britain for Jan., 1900.

them. The only expenditures that will be met by the mother country are those of military and naval defense. This means an annual saving of 5,000,000 francs from the Antilles alone. Colonial initiative and local self-government have been given an impetus by the extension of communal councils in the colonies, and in 1901 the great change was made of restoring to Algiers the right to a separate budget to be drawn up by the governor-general with the assistance of the Superior Council of Algiers, a body which had been of little account before. But more significant than anything else is the marked change in opinion that has taken place among French publicists and economists as to the expediency of the policy of assimilation. Though that policy is still the official policy, it has been gradually yielding to the demands of necessity and French statesmen no longer cling to it as the unchangeable ideal.<sup>19</sup> Many reforms remain yet to be accomplished and I can not do better than permit the eminent economist and publicist, Leroy-Beaulieu, to state what they are. It was the first edition of his great work in 1873 which gave the initial impulse to the new colonization movement; he has been the strongest advocate of that movement in France ever since; and he refers to the last edition of his work on colonization as the most beloved of all his writings.<sup>20</sup> Suggestions of reform made by him can not, therefore, be regarded as unfriendly criticism, and he considers the most pressing of the subsisting evils to be: (1) The ultraprotectionist commercial regime, especially in Algiers, Cochin-China, and Madagascar. (2) The spirit of routine in the administration. (3) The unnecessary multiplication of officials. (4) The enormous expense to the mother country, the result of wasteful administration.

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<sup>19</sup>The Budget Committee of the Chamber of Deputies for 1900 adopted a scheme of reforms for the colonies, the principal feature of which was the substitution of local autonomy for the ideal of assimilation.

<sup>20</sup>Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la Colonisation*, Introduction, p. 6.

## TASTE AND THE THEATER

ROBERT ADGER BOWEN

"I NEVER GO to the theater, nowadays," remarked a man preeminent as an art critic and lifelong student of esthetics, "because the stage is so offensive and ugly."

It is safe to say that this statement will meet with a surprised dissent from most of those who regularly attend the theater. Stage-craft has never before been at such a point of perfection. Every year rivals its precursor in the gorgeousness and elaboration of costuming and setting, of massing and handling of armies of actors, in the conduct of intricate and really impressive effects. Fortunes are spent in the production of a single piece, and many of the houses in which the entertainments are given are sumptuous in their appointments and not infrequently decorated with mural paintings by artists of note. The problem of the entertainment of the public has been raised to the dignity of a science. Has it thereby lost any of the finer elements that distinguish an art?

Realism, the deadly foe to imagination, is the bane of the modern stage. There is the realism of the physical, manifested in the minutiae of setting and stage management; there is the even more serious realism of the moral, to be encountered in the literature and interpretation of the stage. The physical realism is maintained by material means which, perforce artificial, create a world apart, a world of standards that, unreal, are to simulate reality, that, ugly in themselves, are to give the illusion of beauty. Ignoring, for the moment, the graver consideration of the moral realism, the material phase of the question assumes a sufficiently gigantic proportion.

Nowhere else is the step between the sublime and the



ridiculous so short as on the stage; nowhere else is its taking so fatal to artistic effect. Pitfalls confront the actor at every turn. The pitiless glare of the footlights renders an emphatic make-up essential, and then discloses the ugliness of the make-up without the shadow of mellowness. The mechanism of the calcium light, while it attains a desired effect with startling force in one portion of the stage, creates havoc with the illusion of a scarcely less vital point, making the resulting whole too often anything but an harmonious blending of color, or an artistic *ensemble*, and not infrequently distorting individual effects. Even the voice, the movements, and the pose of the actor are things governed by canons applying only to the stage in order to make them seem the natural expression of emotion which would be characterless were they indeed natural. The materials with which the actor works are thus the most difficult to handle skilfully of all artistic media, necessitating as they do for the fulfilment of their purpose the crucifixion of the real that it may through idealization appear real.

When, therefore, an actor begins at the wrong end, and attempts to work backward, with an undue reliance upon scenery, costume, and calcium lights, the result is lamentable and apt to be shocking to the man whose sense of color, whose sense of humor, whose gift of imagination are refined and sensitive. Theatrical managers have led their public beyond the point where "make believe" will do, and yet, by a strange fatality, owing to the limitation of their means, find themselves at times reduced to that expedient. Cotton velvet and glass jewels have given place to costly gowns and genuine diamonds, but the graveyard scene in *Hamlet* is still played to a handful of Pasteurized earth and a few *papier-mâché* bones. Now the point to be observed is that the legitimate in art may be amply served by the clean earth and the sham skull where often the genuine velvets and diamonds not only do not suffice but actively gainsay, pervert

and distort. A few years ago, a prominent foreign actor presented *Hamlet* at one of the Broadway theaters. With a master-stroke of insincerity he set up the graveyard scene with a painted background of meadow upon which a flock of sheep were browsing, while from the "flies" came an occasional tinkle of a sheep-bell and the mechanical music of canary bird whistles. The audience exclaimed "Ah!" and applauded, the actor doubtless felt that he had scored a point, and forgot his own instructions to the players a few scenes before, while "the judicious" grieved. The recollections of theatergoers will supply them with an inexhaustible supply of such scenes of gallimaufry,—full moons rising yellow as gold and of uncertain circumference and yet more erratic motion above a flood of ghastly greenish light supposed to emanate from that luminary, while the crimsons, and yellows, and blues of costume took on a tooth-rasping nondescript of hues; spirited war steeds that had seen their equine illusions long ago vanish down the perspective of street-car tracks; towers of defense that vibrated perceptibly to the high C of impassioned tenors. In moments of reaction from the too persistent "traffic of the stage" one sometimes craves the old-time simplicity when a painted sign told Verona or Rome, a green carpet meant grass, and the imagination of the spectators had to work in consonance with the atmosphere of the play. That most impressive effects may yet be had, even at this day of extreme development of stagecraft, by very simple means as regards scenery and setting, has recently been demonstrated by the remarkable performance of an old mystery play in more or less close adherence to ancient custom, and the still more recent presentation of a Shakspearean play without shifting of scene or elaborate setting.

It is not, however, the stage management alone that is to blame for such violations of good taste as have been pointed out. On the shoulders of the actors themselves falls a heavy

burden. When a "star," or her manager, elaborately costumes a piece with scrupulous regard for historical verity, and reserves for the privilege of the "star" herself costumes of purely individual becomingness, a false note is struck which should bring a just punishment in the way of financial failure as surely as it does in the way of artistic wreck. And yet this thing is continually done. A popular play at present in its third year's running sees the star caparisoned, hair and all, in a guise the best to offset her own wiles, while around her the costume of the period represented is faithfully reproduced. This especial phase of artistic sacrilege is invariably the result of a woman's personal vanity and disrespect for the sincerity of her art. Even when an actress endeavors to be faithful in her costuming a part requiring other day garb, it is difficult for her to resist the temptation to give a touch here or a pat there in the interest of present day fashion or her own individual person.' An actor will, if he be playing such a rôle as Othello, or Shylock, or Don José, assume an unbecoming dress. Nine actresses out of ten, if they be playing Marguerite, will gown themselves first, and Marguerite afterward, if at all. How often the tragedy of a scene, well mounted, admirably acted, will be fatally marred by the personal note of the actress who has carefully dressed before her mirror and refuses to look other than spick and span and, if possible, pretty.

Mannerisms, tricks of speech, personal peculiarities of any sort in an actor are always an affront to the public. In an art where the essence of its success lies in subordination of personality to varied exhibitions of humanity the emphasis of the purely personal is the hanging of a dark veil between effort and attainment. Not that the personality of an actor is not to be an effect desired in his interpretation of any rôle, but this effect must be left as a subconscious impression, as a pervasive subtlety, and not as a reminder of the electric sign-board on the outside of the thea-



ter in which he may be playing. The great actor is potentially everything that he essays, but everything that he essays is not therefore to be brought within the narrow scope of his defined experience and characteristic expression. The humanity of Hamlet and the "cursed spite" that beset him, the humanity of Romeo, of Macbeth, and of Othello, and the mighty forces that swept them on, are not abstractions to be percolated through the individual bias of this or that actor: rather are they essential elements in which he must steep himself before letting them speak through him. Shakspeare, it has elsewhere been said, created no types; but many actors create types out of Shakspeare as a vehicle for their own peculiarities.

There lingers among the conventions of the theater, whether through fault of stage director or actor it matters little, one execrable custom which good taste has in vain cried out against, and that is the custom of acting to slow music in passages of more or less emotional moment. Not long ago an actor noted for his melodramatic success sought to justify this barbarous trick by asserting that at such moments of tense excitement the audience needed the music as a soporific for its strained faculties, that it abetted the actor in his effects. None the less, the usage remains an outrage upon the finer sensibilities of an audience. It is a clap-trap appeal to the lighter emotions, perhaps excusable in purple melodrama but utterly inappropriate to the stately atmosphere of legitimate tragedy. Moreover, the music too frequently obliterates the sound of the dialogue, which at such times is likely to be pitched in a low key. There is nothing more exasperating for an audience than to lose the pith of a climacteric scene through the unexpected wailing of the orchestra in some moth-eaten, sentimental melody, or to have its mental poise hopelessly upset by the artificiality of this "aid to reflection." There is no convention of the stage in which good taste so surely demands reform.

Several other tricks of the actor's craft have curiously held their own in the teeth of the sweeping reforms of the modern stage and are now and then made use of by popular playwrights when invention burns low, or their ingenuity nods, or when the actor feels that convention may still carry it over realism. The old banality of the reading aloud to the audience the contents of a letter; the worse awkwardness of *writing* it aloud; the "stage whisper" and the "aside;" the lightning flash of the pen in supposed signature or longer note; the sham that is easily seen to be sham when the real might be substituted—such conventions still linger in these days of minute and careful stage-setting and acting that have become otherwise almost harshly realistic.

The signs are not altogether far to seek of a reaction from the oversumptuous mounting of plays. Even where the histrionic talent which it is nominally, at least, still supposed to accompany and second is of really distinctive worth, the undue emphasis of the mechanical part of the production is beginning to be felt, while it is only too common an event for spectacular performance to throw an adventitious glamour over the shortcomings and the intentional warping of the dramatic features. Plays become panoramas, actors become pegs upon which to hang unwholesome but cunningly alluring passions sympathetically gowned for whose denotement a so-called strenuous dramatic equipment is necessary, and the too often inartistic problem play gives room to the modern passion play. Beneath its brutal appeal to the senses, everything clean and legitimate in dramatic art is ruled out.

It is in these plays that, to give their heroines, who are always courtezans, a clothing of gauze, the playwright surrounds them with the pomp and luxury of the stage to an unprecedented degree. Harmless in themselves through excess of the unattractive, these dramatic figureheads become a factor for evil through the setting in which they are placed

and the conventions which are thereby instituted. The type and the mechanism are copied, the contemporary drama is vitiated, the taste of the public is either offended or perverted. The passions of the paramour and the contemptible lusts of the royal bawd are soon transferred to the wife of the honorable man, and reputable critics praise the imitative play as an admirable transcript of nature. Vulgar exhibitions of temper are given with the abandon of lung power and gesture brought into popularity by the explosive school, until a decent restraint in acting becomes an old-fashioned theory. From the conventionally moral point of view the strenuous, spectacular school of acting need not be reckoned with, for its emanating source can scarcely be considered to have serious moral attributes, but esthetically it is a grave evil, and one whose influence in the perversion of the drama cannot too firmly be opposed.

Fortunately it is being opposed in its stronghold—upon the stage itself. There are actors and actresses whose devotion to their art comes of an artistic temperament in the first place, ably sustained by intellect and culture. To these men and women in their struggle to have all that they do, and all that lends color to their doing, of the best, the public owes a debt of increasing honor. The sincerity which is the keynote of success in all art is no less essential in dramatic art because more difficult to attain fully and more surrounded by temptation to its own undoing. Elaboration of detail, gorgeousness of costume, minute care in the management of light effects are, by these men and women, made valuable adjuncts to serious purpose in acting. In their hands, stagecraft ceases to be chicanery, while the fundamental fact is never forgotten that, after all, "the play's the thing."



## WHAT HAVE WE DONE FOR PUERTO RICO?

PROFESSOR EDWIN MAXEY

A LITTLE more than four years ago we took possession of the island of Puerto Rico. A careful study of what has been accomplished during those years is especially fitting because of its bearing upon the question of our ability and fitness to assist a tropical people in their political, educational, and economic development. A study of this sort will necessarily involve some comparisons between present and past conditions in the island; for, while the cession of the island by Spain furnishes a legal justification for our sovereignty, the justification in the larger sense must be found, if at all, in the results of our political cooperation with the Puerto-Ricans. In other words, the change in the sovereignty, here as elsewhere, finds its justification in achievements, not in parchments.

It is not vain boasting, but rather the plain and sober statement of a fact, to say that the change has resulted in the regeneration of the body politic of Puerto Rico. From something very little more than a political nonentity, the Puerto-Ricans have become practically a self-governing people. They have not been slow to discover the advantages of a system under which the revenues of the island go to meet the needs of the island, as compared with a system under which the needs of a distant and tottering throne combined with the avarice of an office-holding class constituted a first mortgage upon all forms of insular taxes. They are gradually learning a great political lesson, that it is the duty of the minority to cooperate in the work of government, even though it can not have its own way in everything. It is safe to say that they have learned more political science during the few years of American guidance than in as many

centuries of Spanish domination. They have, with greater rapidity than even the most sanguine could have expected, been led by precept and example to see and to feel that political office brings no abiding honor, if worn as a mere ornament or means of selfish gain; but ennobles its holder only when used as an opportunity for rendering the highest possible service. Equality before the law, which, but a short time since, was to them something unheard of, a little later a mere meaningless phrase, has become a vital organic principle.

When the sovereignty over the island passed from Spain, there were in Puerto Rico about one hundred and fifty miles of railway (narrow-gauge) and a trifle less than one hundred and eighty miles of wagon road. Since the American occupation, the railways have been changed, from lines dependent upon state subsidy, to self-supporting lines, the tonnage has doubled, and the passenger traffic shows a healthy increase. A belt line around the island has been provided for and will soon be constructed, as well as numerous lateral lines into the interior. A contract has also been entered into for the construction of an electric line across the island from San Juan to Ponce. This line will carry freight as well as passengers. Thus the bull-cart as a means of transportation is rapidly giving way to steam and electricity.

Wagon roads, which are indispensable to the agricultural development of the interior, are being constructed as rapidly as possible. Very nearly as many miles of road have been built by the Americans during the few years of their occupation as by Spain during as many centuries. The telegraph system has been modernized, the old tape instruments—slow of operation and unreliable—in use at the time of American occupation, have been replaced by the latest type of instrument. The number of telegraph stations has been quadrupled within the past three years, so that now

the commercial need for telegraphic communication is fairly well supplied. It is interesting to note that the telegraph line is owned and operated by the insular government, the results of which may become a valuable object-lesson to Americans.

The commercial advantages due to their changed political relations, and the infusion of new life attendant upon it, have produced a very perceptible effect upon the volume of Puerto-Rican trade, which has increased more than 50 per cent. The effect of a wise, liberal trade policy with the island is seen not only in the increased volume of trade but in the increased share that the United States has in that trade. Puerto-Rican imports from the United States have increased from \$4,000,000 to \$12,000,000, that is to say, an increase of 200 per cent., while exports to the United States have increased correspondingly. During the same period, trade with European countries has decreased about 50 per cent. Along with this growth in the foreign trade there has been an equally healthy growth in the internal trade.

As a result of a more equitable system of taxation, the advantages of a free entry into the American market and contact with American life, the industries of Puerto Rico have grown surprisingly. The production of sugar, which is the main agricultural product of the island, has increased 90 per cent., and coffee, the groves for producing which were nearly destroyed during the hurricane of 1898, will soon reach a normal yield. The production of tobacco, which is the next most important crop, has increased in value by about 50 per cent. Along with an increase in the production of staples has gone an increase in the variety of industries, as well as increased economy in the processes of production.

It is safe to conclude that Puerto Rico will soon become an important fruit-raising country. By the introduction of modern methods of culture and the substitution of improved



means of transportation, the fruit crop has been made to yield a profit of as high as \$250 an acre. Stock-raising has also assumed greater importance.

In no respect, however, has greater or more commendable progress been made than in the department of education. Under the old régime there existed in Puerto Rico nothing worthy of the name of public school system, for there was lacking every element that goes to make up an efficient system of public education. With the change in political relations, there has come a revolution not only in the facilities for acquiring an education, but in the attitude of the popular mind toward it. There has been established, under American supervision, and with the very hearty cooperation of the Puerto-Ricans, a public school system, consisting of three distinct types of schools: (1), those for general education, including primary and graded schools in every municipality, a high school at San Juan and a normal school at Rio Piedros; (2), agricultural schools; (3), industrial and trade schools. Thus the practical as well as the cultural needs of the Puerto-Ricans have not been overlooked.

The change in the subject-matter taught, and in the manner of teaching it, has led the people to appreciate the practical utility of education. The attendance has more than doubled—in fact, the desire has, for the present, outrun the means of satisfying it, although school buildings are being erected as rapidly as practicable. Spain left to the island no legacy of school buildings, but on the other hand a large legacy of illiteracy (79 per cent. of those over ten years old). The carrying on of a public school system without any public school buildings, however it may have appeared to Catholic Spain, was not in accord with American ideas. Already \$4,000,000 have been expended upon school buildings and equipment, and there is imperative need for more buildings, in order to accommodate those waiting for an opportunity to enroll. Rural school buildings are paid for out

of the insular treasury, but the municipality in which it is located is required to pay half the cost of a graded school building. Many of these are the finest buildings in their respective municipalities and are a source of genuine and pardonable pride to the people.

For the support of schools the municipalities are required to pay over to the school board at least 15 per cent. of all municipal taxes.

The Insular Government is supporting 20 native Puerto-Rican youths in industrial and manual training schools in the United States, at an expense of \$250 a year each, to prepare them for careers as artisans; and 25 others are being prepared for college, at an expense of \$400 a year each. The readiness of the Puerto-Ricans to expend \$15,000 a year in this way is evidence not only of the value that they attach to education, but also of their confidence in American institutions.

Charity work has not been neglected by the government. An asylum for the insane and a home for the blind have been established; also a charity school for girls, in which they are taught to do household work, as well as being given instruction in the "three R's" and an opportunity to learn English. In this school nearly 300 girls are being cared for and educated. There also exists the "Battalion Boys' Charity School," in which the boys are given a military training, as a means of discipline, are taught to speak English, given an elementary education, and required to learn a trade. In this school there are 275 boys, between the ages of 12 and 18. It is believed that both these schools will soon become practically self-supporting.

In this brief survey a great deal that would be interesting and instructive has been necessarily omitted; but doubtless sufficient has been included to indicate the general nature of the work being done, and to show that gratifying progress is making.

## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

THERE ARE a great many Republicans of standing and experience who think it would be a wholesome thing for the country to elect a Democratic president if a conservative man could be found who would favor protection and sound money and a peaceful non-expansion policy. The American people do not want to be meddling in the politics of foreign countries, nor annexing new territory with half savage population. The true American policy is the development of the resources, character, freedom, and civilization of the United States.

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EITHER the Merger decision or the Sherman Law is an absurdity. In either case, the law, the court, and the Administration stand for an untenable position toward industrial enterprise. Those who think this will accomplish the purpose of suppressing corporations are doomed to disappointment. The natural laws of economic development may be diverted for a time, but can not be made inoperative by any such arbitrary methods. Either another way will be found to accomplish the same end, or the law will prove a boomerang to the political discomfort and disgrace of its sponsors. Progress must go on, in spite of such absurd strenuousness.

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WHAT WITH the indignation of Governor Odell at being named by the Bristow report, the indignation of Governor Herrick at the removal of Hanna office-holders and the appointment of Foraker men, the Roosevelt forces are being very much disturbed in New York and Ohio. How much of this sort of thing can the Republican party stand, and win? Ohio may stand it; but New York is by no means



a sure Roosevelt state, either for nomination or election. If the Democrats should nominate a public-spirited, conservative man, upon a sane platform such as has been suggested by Senator Bacon, New York would be a doubtful state. With New York in doubt, New Jersey and Connecticut could not be regarded as sure.

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CONGRESS has been indulging in some warm debates about the increase of our navy. It must be admitted that the demand for more battle-ships looks more like war than peace. Of course a large navy is advocated on the ground that we now have foreign possessions to protect. Our interests reach to the other side of the globe. Certainly that is only another part of the Philippine problem. The mistake of taking the Philippines involves the further mistake of governing them at the cost of hundreds of millions, and their inadequate protection further involves the enlargement of our navy. If we continue this policy it will only be a short time before our peaceful policy of industrialism will have been superseded by militarism.

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VIRGINIA has earned the credit and appreciation of the whole country in the way she disposed of the case of the negro Williams, who was hanged March 18, at Roanoke. This was a case of the worst kind of assault, accompanied by murder. If lynching is ever justifiable it would have been in Williams's case, and the public was ready for it; but the officers of the law took possession of the criminal, protected him from the mob, that could not have given him more than he deserved. But the law was vindicated; it gave Williams a trial and promptly hanged him. The crime was committed January 30, and in forty-six days Williams paid the penalty on the scaffold. If the courts would always act with such promptness there would be much less disposition to lynch law, and less seeming excuse for it. Contrast

the trial of Williams by the courts of Virginia with the trial of Mollineux in New York. Virginia vindicated the law in securing to the criminal a fair trial, and vindicated the spirit of decency and judicial efficiency in executing the law with dispatch.

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THE BREAKING of the cotton corner is one of the most wholesome things that has occurred in Wall Street for some time. The more thoroughly Daniel J. Sully, "cotton king," is broken, the better for the community. Persons like Sully, who go into Wall Street for the purpose of cornering products, and forcing them up to abnormally high prices, are a pest to the community. They ought not to succeed, and the more frequently they come to grief, the better for the public.

Sully cornered an important raw material of a great industry. He destroyed the profits of cotton manufacture, and soon would have compelled either a reduction of wages, or a suspension of business. Men like him work positive injury to the public, without rendering it any good. Besides almost ruining certain industries, they stimulate the popular prejudice against large wealth. They build up nothing. They contribute only to uncertainty, business disturbance, and the distrust of legitimate enterprise. Every man or firm that does or tries to do what Sully did, *ought* to go into bankruptcy.

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THE BOSTON *Herald* seems to take great delight in announcing that Mr. Leup, in his book, "Roosevelt the Man," has entirely confirmed Ex-Secretary Long's statement that Mr. Roosevelt wanted the Administration to attack the Spanish fleet before war had been declared. It relates the substance of Mr. Leup's story thus:

The President soon afterward spoke of it in a cabinet

meeting, when one asked jocosely whether the assistant-secretary would submit his scheme in writing. The President said he would call him in to present it in person. This was done. When Mr. Roosevelt had retired from the room, says Mr. Leup, "the President looked around with an amazed expression. Three or four of the others laughed aloud. Those who did not laugh were restrained by the seriousness of the crisis." The project and the scene were considered so funny that they were matters of merriment at the clubs the same evening.

All this may be true, but it is very unkind thus to make fun of it. Mr. Roosevelt was undoubtedly an impetuous Assistant-Secretary of the Navy, as he was as Commissioner of Police and as "Rough Rider;" but the *Herald* should remember that he is now president. Of course nobody ever doubted Mr. Long's statement, he is not the kind of man to misrepresent such an affair.

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DEMOCRATIC papers are making a great ado about the shocking extravagance at the White House. The text for it all appears to be the suggestion that a new and healthful stable be built for the President's horses. Nothing could more clearly indicate a poverty of issue than the effort to stir up public sentiment on such a topic. The erection of new stables is not extravagance, it is merely an act of decency and of ordinary respectability. The grounds and appointments of the White House, should be the best that can be furnished. It is the house of the president of the United States, not of Theodore Roosevelt.

Not only the White House, but the City of Washington, should be the object of the same national pride. It is the national capital, and should be made in all respects the most beautiful city in the world. The United States, the richest nation in the world, should have the very best that sanitation, horticulture, and landscape-gardening can give. The money expended in the Philippines, or in an undue increase



of the navy, or in a hundred other ways, may properly come in line for criticism; but money spent for the improvement of the White House, and the beautification of the national capital, can never properly be called extravagance, if the money is honestly spent.

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ACCORDING to a report in the *New York World* of March 15, President Roosevelt is very angry with Justice Holmes of the Supreme Court for refusing to join the majority in the Merger decision and for writing a dissenting opinion. The report says: "The President's anger has carried him so far that he would remove Mr. Holmes if he could, but as that is impossible, he will be content with the shutting of the White House door in Mr. Holmes's face."

Mr. Roosevelt has shown a marked disposition to run things in both branches of Congress, but some more definite evidence of this attitude toward Justice Holmes should be forthcoming before the *World's* account is credited. Mr. Holmes was one of President Roosevelt's own appointees, and he probably did expect him to vote with the majority, especially as the President was practically the plaintiff; but, whatever his disappointment, it is difficult to believe that he would show it in any such way. President Roosevelt is capable of being wrong on most all important questions, but it is doubtful if he is capable of taking the attitude ascribed to him by the *New York World*. That would be such a violent overstepping of his authority as might have to be taken cognizance of officially. Oh! no; the *World's* story can not be true.

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IT IS now announced that the Platt-Odell war in New York is on in earnest. They are both experienced hands. Platt is a past-master, and Odell is his thoroughly trained pupil. Platt is known to have no scruples in a political war, and Odell is known to be thoroughly trained in the same

tactics. Those who think Odell is of superior moral caliber to Platt need only to watch him for a while to discover their error. Odell is a cunning grocery-man in politics. He knows how to wet the sugar, and put peas in the coffee, with a real Sunday school smile. Nobody has absolute faith in him; he is such a large unknown quantity. He has all along pretended to be the friend of the President, but Mr. Roosevelt has never trusted him. He has believed, and he has not always concealed the fact, that Odell would at any time sacrifice him if there was anything to be gained. For once Mr. Roosevelt has been right, and his interests in New York have now to be entrusted to poor old Platt, whom he literally despises.

With the Republicans thus rent into two warring factions and the President himself not very popular, New York can not be regarded as a safe Republican state. But it is believed that the Democrats can be relied upon to make fools of themselves, and so save the state to the Republicans.

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THE NEW YORK *Commercial* is very much excited over the hardships of what it calls "the middle classes." It declares that there are "in New York today uncounted thousands of managers, accountants, clerks, solicitors, engineers, professional men, and small traders who are struggling to make both ends meet." It ascribes all this hardship to the advance of wages which has taken place during the last few years which it thinks the result of the overbearing tyranny of trade-unions. As a remedy for this state of affairs, it appeals to this middle class to "array themselves solidly against organized labor, to stand shoulder to shoulder with the employers who are now organizing for resistance to aggression by the labor-unions."

The Washington *Post* sees the absurdity of the *Commercial's* suggestion, and promptly offers the explanation that the one great cause of the increased cost of living, is not

the increase in wages, but the abnormally high scale of tariff taxes. Here we have two respectable papers trying to improve the condition of a certain small class by pulling down the standard of welfare of another and a much larger class. The *Commercial* would improve the condition of the professional class by cutting down wages, and the *Post* would do it by cutting down prosperity. It seems not to have occurred to either of these enlightened contemporaries that the real way to improve the condition of the clerk and of the professional class is to raise their own wages, and not to pull down the wages of others to their level.

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IN A RECENT speech in the House of Representatives, Mr. Dalzell felt the necessity of defending the late President McKinley's Buffalo speech against the charge that it abandoned the "stand-pat" doctrine of protection. The *New York Journal of Commerce* makes this a text for a serious editorial. It goes to great lengths to show from the Buffalo speech, that McKinley was about to become an advocate of liberal reciprocity and low tariffs.

Why all this fuss about what McKinley said at Buffalo? Suppose he had said ten times as much as he did in this direction? Suppose, even, he had become a free-trader? What of it? How would that affect the merits of protection as a national policy?

McKinley did not make protection, it was protection that made McKinley. He was merely a brilliant, and not always a profound, expounder of protection, because it was the policy of his party. Protection must stand or fall on its merits as a practical economic policy, not by anything Mr. McKinley said, or did not say. This attempt to fasten certain utterances in the last speech of President McKinley upon the nation as a controlling edict is undignified, unscientific, unstatesmanlike, and, for the most part, insincere.

Papers like the *Journal of Commerce*, which now quote



McKinley in his last speech, were the very ones that always ridiculed him and even denounced him as a shallow politician. He was always better than they described him when alive, and he was never as profound as they would have us believe, now he is dead.

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MR. HENRY LABOUCHERE, the English free lance, in Parliament and press, is very much opposed to the Russo-Japanese War. Mr. Labouchere thinks that war might have been avoided and the controversy settled by arbitration. He says:

The war in the East ought to have been avoided, and might have been avoided, had the issue been referred to arbitration. Neither Russia sought to invade Japan, nor Japan to invade Russia. The question at issue was what was to be the fate of Manchuria and of Korea, neither of which belongs to either of the combatants. The Koreans declared that they wished to remain Koreans; the Chinese, who are the *de jure* possessors of Manchuria, did not ask the Japanese to aid them to maintain their sway there. . . . Looking at the map, it is obvious that Russia must always seek to have an ice-free port on the Pacific, for Siberia is strangled without one. The map also shows that, if Korea were to become Russian, this would be a serious menace to Japan. Equally if Japan were to hold and fortify southern Korea, this would be a serious menace to Russia. Accepting facts as they are, I still think that a reasonable and independent arbitration might have settled the matter without a resort to arms.

Mr. Labouchere is evidently a little over-sanguine regarding the outcome of international arbitration. Before the Venezuela decision, this suggestion might have been regarded with some confidence, but the award in the Venezuela case, and the speech delivered by the president of the tribunal goes far to destroy any confidence in the outcome of the Hague court. Only a nation that is prepared to enforce its demand by war could afford to submit important claims to the consideration of such a tribunal.

IN A RECENT interview on Democratic prospects, Senator Bacon, of Georgia, made the following statesmanlike remark:

There should be the most pronounced conservatism in every utterance and action of the convention. We should have a thoroughly conservative man at the head of the ticket. Present business and financial conditions should be recognized, and such changes and reforms as may be necessary should be undertaken in such a conservative manner as not to disturb or unsettle the business of the country.

I believe that we should go before the country in the attitude of a conservative policy respecting the tariff; and, probably more important still, the Democratic party should recognize the money question as having been fully settled and removed from the issues of the campaign.

This is the most sensible, comprehensive, and statesmanlike utterance that has come from the Democratic party for a long time. Besides being patriotic and sound, it is good politics. With Hearst and the Kansas City platform, Roosevelt or any other candidate the Republicans can name will have a walk-over. The American people do not want an explosion. They are not looking for revolution and disruption. What they want is prosperity and progress. Everybody knows there is a general suppressed distrust of Mr. Roosevelt both in regard to domestic and foreign affairs. Nobody feels entirely sure of what is going to happen. But the people can not turn with any confidence to the Democratic party because it is even more explosive than Roosevelt. If the Democratic party would line up to the policy indicated by Senator Bacon and nominate a conservative candidate whose character would be a guarantee of the integrity of the platform, it would at least exercise a most wholesome influence upon the policy of the country, even if it did not win.

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IT MUST be humiliating to ponderous, boastful Russia to

find itself bested at almost every point by little Japan. Thus far she has not proved the equal of her agile adversary in a single encounter. She is now asking the world to wait till she gets ready, and then she will just sit down, as it were, on the Japanese, and there will be nothing more of them. If she could only once sit on them, that probably would be the end.

But something besides mere size and weight of numbers is needed. Virile enthusiasm inspired by the spirit of progress is essential to success in such a struggle. This Japan has, and Russia seems greatly to lack. Russia can probably make all her male subjects into soldiers, but this may prove a fatal draft upon both the material resources and the patriotism of her people.

There is no country in Europe where a heavy war tax will so soon create acute suffering as in Russia. Ninety per cent. of her people have no margin to spare for war. Loyalty to despotism will seldom stand the test of hunger. With her army at the front, the enemies of the Russian autocrat at home will have an exceptional opportunity for getting in their work, and the starving people will be in a mood to listen to anything against the power that reduced them to starvation.

Russia's power at home rests on a huge mass of ignorance, superstition, fear, and poverty. Such a foundation was never secure in a time of trying adversity. The success of Japan against the Russian forces will soon carry discouragement into the Russian army, and break the faith of the Russian people in the almighty power of the Tsar. Russia can not afford to fight a losing game to the finish. The final success of Japan might be a wholesome contribution to civilization in ways that Japan never dreamed of. Besides keeping Russia out of China, and particularly out of Korea, where she ought not to be permitted to go, it may have the effect of breaking the Tsar's despotism in Russia



and plant the beginnings of representative institutions in that benighted and brutally governed country.

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THE ATLANTA *Constitution*, the leading paper in the South, has formally and quite vigorously announced a new departure in the political policy of its section. It makes a formal declaration, with the tone that it represents concerted action, that the South will now put aside all "self-abnegation" in regard to candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency.

It calls attention to the fact that for nearly forty years the South has supplied two-thirds of the voting strength of the Democratic party, and has refrained from naming a single Southern man as presidential candidate and has stood ready to support any candidate the North might name. The *Constitution* recognizes the fact that this was not altogether voluntary "self-abnegation," but an inevitable consequence of its position in the Civil War. But it thinks that it has done sufficient penance for that, and that the time has come when the South should take its place in politics on its merits, with any and every other section.

This seems to be an entirely reasonable position. The idea that a candidate for president in either party must needs come from this or that state, or any special section of the country, is absurd. It subjects the selection of candidates for the highest office in the nation to geographical, instead of political and public considerations. The selection should be made entirely upon the merits of the case, the fitness of the man in ability and in personal and representative character, and this is all that the *Atlanta Constitution* asks for the South.

It will be difficult indeed to see how the Democratic party can refuse to accede to such a moderate claim for just recognition. There is no reason why the Republican party should not select a candidate from Rhode Island or Maine or West

### First Labor Laws

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir :—In what country were the first laws of labor enacted, and what was the special purpose to be accomplished? L. D.

The first law ever enacted affecting wage-laborers was passed in England in 1349. It was called the Statute of Laborers, and was enacted to prevent the laborers from asking or receiving a rise of wages. Wages were then, three pence a day. Encouraged by the prosperity of the country and the great dearth of laborers due to the terrible mortality in the "Black Death" plague, which, it is said, struck down one-third of the people in a few months, the laborers demanded more wages and refused to work. Crops could not be gathered, and the sheep and cattle roved over the whole country.

King Edward III was induced to issue a proclamation in 1349 which was confirmed by such Parliament as then existed, "that no laborers should ask, and no employer should pay, more wages than had been paid in the twentieth year of the King's reign (1347). It was impossible to enforce this law, although it was accompanied by serious penalties such as being placed in the stocks and imprisonment. This was the beginning of a series of laws forbidding laborers to ask for an increase of pay, which continued through half a century; but it was a futile struggle of the governing classes to fix wages by statute, and to repress the action of natural law. The statutes were passed, the penalties were applied, but the wages rose.

## BOOK REVIEWS

INTRODUCTION TO ECONOMICS. By Henry Rogers Seager. Cloth; 552 pages. Henry Holt & Company, New York.

This is a text-book for class-room work in colleges to be used in connection with lectures. It is a very intelligent and, on the whole, readable résumé of the doctrine of economics as it is presented today in American colleges.

There is little or nothing of an original character, but much dressing of the subject, to give it the air of what many like to call the "new school." On all questions of value and price, it has a Boehm-Bawerk flavor. There is also little of a constructive or positive character in the treatment of practical economic questions. For example, the writer has not got over the Malthusian theory of population. On page 289, he says:

The most obvious and certain economic check upon population is that emphasized by all writers since the subject began to attract attention, namely the need common to all men for food, clothing, and shelter, as conditions to continued existence. Population is checked by starvation, disease, and death as soon as the number of the people reduces the earnings of the lowest grade of wage-earners below what is needed to maintain and rear an average family.

The experience of the last thirty years ought to have made this kind of argument obsolete at least in English speaking countries. As a matter of fact, the limitation of population by starvation exercises no practical influence on the wage question in this country, nor in England, France, and Germany, and it is very doubtful if it does anywhere. The economic condition of Christendom has passed the starvation point. Nor is it true that the "submerged tenth" materially affects wages. Wages are determined by the social standing of those who work, not by the condition of those who live on charity. The habitual social necessi-



ties, aided and enforced by organization, sustain wages within the given group or industry, regardless of the fact that there is a "submerged tenth." The bricklayers, masons, carpenters, tailors, cabinet makers, and carriage makers of New York, do not submit to a decrease in wages because there is a "submerged tenth" on the East Side.

Nor is it true that the poverty of this "submerged tenth" restricts the population. On the contrary the population increases faster there than on Fifth Avenue, and that is true the world over. The poor, everywhere, have the largest families. It is true that the infant mortality is greater among that class, but that is not due to any particular influence of the laborers themselves but to the havoc of disease, due to poverty and squalor. This starvation doctrine as a wage regulator has long since been exploded by experience. Laborers make their demands for wages because of urgent social needs, and the higher the social standing, the more intelligent the laborers become, and the slower is the increase of population. The Malthusian theory that people marry and have large families in proportion as they are materially prosperous, is not true. On the contrary, history demonstrates that the poorer people are the more reckless they are about getting married and the greater the tendency to have large families.

Mr. Seager tells us that "any merit which may be attached to the chapters on money and credit, is largely due to Professor J. F. Johnson of the New York University." It is well that Professor Johnson is credited only with the merits; he would hardly want to endorse the statement on page 314 that "the value of gold coin is prevented from exceeding the value of gold in such coin by the policy of free and gratuitous gold coinage." The value of the gold of which the coin is made is not determined by the coinage, free or limited. The value of gold, coined and uncoined, is determined by the value of bullion, which is governed by the economic

conditions of producing gold, and not by any fact connected with the coinage. If the gold in the coin should be worth more than its equivalent amount of bullion, nothing could keep it from the melting pot, whether coinage was free or limited. A limited coinage may keep coins in circulation at a value much above the market value of the metal they contain, but, this is only possible when another metal of higher value is used as the standard and for which these over-valued coins will be taken in exchange. This has for years been the case with silver in this country, but it is not true, and could never be true of gold or any other metal when used for the standard. The merit of these chapters, consists chiefly in the historical and statistical facts recited, not in the discussion of the principles of finance.

When Mr. Seager comes to the question of foreign exchange and the tariff he reflects "all the free trade bias of Amercian colleges." To be sure he goes through the form of stating both sides of the question, but in reality he gives only one. He presents free trade as the scientific position, and in giving the protection view he takes up only the points that he feels competent to answer. It may be that he is not acquainted with the best literature of protection, with the philosophical presentation of the subject. If he is, he has entirely failed to give his readers a hint of it. His discussion of this subject is weak, and almost puny, and is altogether unfair. Any student who goes through college with this text-book as his guide, accompanied by the lectures of its author, is sure to come out, ill-informed and, with notions that will need undoing as soon as he approaches the practical world of affairs. For instance, he says, on page 370, "the same reasons that make free exchange within a country advantageous may be urged in favor of free trade between countries." No student of the economics of protection could make such a statement. But Sumner says it, and Edward Atkinson says it, but they are

hopelessly biased free traders, and are utterly incapable of giving philosophical consideration to the subject. This statement shows that the author has failed to get a glimpse of the real inwardness of the protection doctrine.

The first element in protection is to secure the maximum opportunities for industrial activities within the nation. We say the nation, because, that is the largest political entity to which any public policy can apply. From the point of view of protection philosophy, the first condition of a nation's prosperity is diversification of industries. It is the duty of governments, so far as possible, to secure the opportunities for this diversification. It is of equal interest that this diversification should go on in all the states, and therefore, it is the true policy of protection, so to shape the national policy as to encourage this opportunity, not in one state against another, but in all the states of the union. It is only through the diversification of industry that social advancement, and all that makes for national greatness, may be promoted.

The prime object of statesmanship is not to make things a penny cheaper, but to influence the conditions that will promote the material welfare and social expansion of the people. The difference between the free trade doctrine, and the doctrine of philosophical protection is, that free trade makes the social advancement of the people depend upon the accident of physical conditions and market prices, whereas the protectionist theory subordinates physical conditions and market prices to the social development of the people. Where the natural opportunities are unfavorable to the diversification of industries, protection secures these opportunities and creates the influences for social advancement which, otherwise, could not exist. In this way, it makes a scientific contribution to progress and national development that, under *laissez-faire* would be lost to the world.

There is another reason why this attempted analogy be-



tween states (political divisions within a nation) and countries is wholly unsound. The economic conditions of industrial diversification require a large and increasing market. A small market, even though of great variety, does not form an adequate foundation for industrial diversification. The development of the best methods of manufacturing requires extensive sales. A small community can not furnish this. No single state in this country could furnish it; but the whole country can; and thus, if protection were applied to individual states it would have the effect of defeating the most essential condition for industrial diversification. Thus what furnishes a stimulating opportunity for development when applied to the whole nation, might destroy that very opportunity if applied by each individual state. It would be just as sensible to say that each family should have protection in the same way. This is very much like the argument against the reduction of the hours of labor, which says: "If ten hours is better than fourteen, then eight is better than ten, and four must be proportionately better than eight, and none at all would be ideal." As well might one say, that, because over-eating produces dyspepsia, eating a smaller amount would be beneficial; and if we eat nothing at all we should have a perfect digestion.

The foundation fact in economic progress is market opportunity. If by cosmic, social, or political conditions a nation is at a disadvantage in this respect, it is the first duty of statesmanship in that nation to use political institutions so as to create, if possible, that market opportunity. But this can not be done by a miracle. If the nation is so small that its domestic consumption, if all secured, is not adequate to sustain industrial development, then a protective tariff will not be beneficial to that country. But if the domestic consumption of the people is large enough, when all secured, to furnish the market basis for industrial diversification, it is the essence of wise economic policy to secure those

market conditions. The doing of this will at first involve some higher prices for the products, but the price paid is as nothing compared to the industrial and social development secured. There is no price too high to pay for civilization, rather than go without it. This aspect of the subject never appears to have dawned upon such writers as Sumner, Atkinson, Wells, Fawcett and the other authorities quoted by Mr. Seager. Protection is a social doctrine. It is an indispensable element in the statesmanship of a progressive country. It can not always be applied in the same way, but no nation can really make advancement without protection. When Mr. Seager assumes that, because a tariff policy would not be beneficial for Delaware and Rhode Island, it therefore could not be beneficial to the United States, he announces that he has not grasped the most elementary principle in the protective doctrine.

Again on page 379 he says:

Since labor and capital are more productive in unprotected than in protected industries, the withdrawal of protection and the concentration of labor and capital in the former might be expected, time being allowed for the necessary readjustment, not to lower wages, but to raise them. Certainly more wealth would be produced under the new arrangement, and labor's chance of getting a larger share would seem as good as that of any other factor in production. Thus instead of raising wages, protection serves on the whole to lower them and is itself necessary because wages were already high before it was introduced. The case for protection thus appears on every count to be decidedly weak in comparison with the case for free trade.

Here again he has missed the essential element in protection. It is not true, "that labor and capital are more productive in unprotected industries than in protected industries." On the contrary, it is in the protected industries that the productivity of labor and capital has most increased all products. The reason for this is that affording protection to industries and opportunity for the investment of capital and for the improvement of methods which protection secured, has led to an enormous increase in the pro-

ductivity of labor and capital. The improvement in this line is much greater in protected industries than in unprotected. Unprotected industries like the building trades and purely domestic industries not subject to foreign competition, have made less progress in the use of invention and machinery than have the manufacturing industries whose existence and enormous development in this country, have depended on protection. Noy, more; much of the improvement in productive methods in foreign countries are due to the improvements developed here through the opportunities protection afforded. In fact, our immense advancement in industrial development by which we have surpassed England and now lead the world is due to the extraordinary improvement in the machinery and methods of this country, the bulk of which would have been impossible but for the protection of our domestic market as an opportunity for capitalistic experimentation.

It is really surprising and indeed a little discouraging that the scholarship and influences of our colleges should tend thus to stereotype prejudices of half a century ago on such an important question in national statesmanship. It is not to be expected that scholarly economists will excuse or in any way try to palliate the weakness and bias of mere political use of protection in schedule-making. Abuse will arise there just as it does in the postoffice, and in the pension office and in the treasury and in other departments of administration; but, it is not creditable to the profession, that the treatment of this subject has not risen above the hackneyed prejudices of fifty years ago.

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THE OLIGARCHY OF VENICE. By George B. McClellan. Cloth; gilt top; 202 pages. \$1.25. Houghton, Mifflin & Company, New York and Boston.

So much has been said and written about Venice that it would seem difficult to present any phase of its history in



a new dress; yet Mr. McClellan has really accomplished this. He begins by stating what he intends, and he has succeeded, as few writers do, in accomplishing his task, and he has done it in a way to make very pleasant and instructive reading. He presents very strongly the commercial aspect of Venetian history from the point of view of a politician with the keen insight developed by contact with practical, present day politics.

As he states it, his purpose is to deal with the causes of the greatness and the undoing of Venice. He follows the evolutionary development of the government by discussing the three *coups d'état*, and gives an interesting account of the appeal of the crown to the people and its important results. He shows how the first *coup d'état* resulted in crushing out the old aristocracy of sentiment and tradition and abolishing the principle of association and heredity in election of the doges, thus bringing into the new ruling class the order of commercial aristocracy that had been excluded. The struggle of the commercial aristocracy was very vigorous, and with unlimited resources for amassing wealth, it developed the material prosperity of Venice to the exclusion of everything else. It should be encouraging to the disheartened American artist who is decrying our city officials for sacrificing everything artistic for the promotion of commerce, to know that the art spirit of Venice grew in spite of commercialism, and that Venice today is the Mecca of the American artist who goes abroad seeking inspiration.

The second *coup d'état* was the most revolutionary. It resulted in depriving the people of the right to elect the doges, placing this permit in the hands of the great council. Thus the merchant class became the dominant party, and established an oligarchy of wealth by which the state was governed.

The third *coup d'état* closed the great council and made it impossible for the aristocracy of Venice to govern except

by consent of the mercantile oligarchy. These successive steps developed the trade guilds, which created a commercial monopoly from which all outsiders were excluded. Since the guilds held all the wealth and controlled the government of the republic, competition in Venice was impossible.

The fall of Venice, and its history during the last century is given at considerable length, and altogether makes the book well adapted to the use of those interested in the study of political governments. The writer makes it a story startlingly like the daily discussions of political methods of the modern "boss" who manipulates the people, while seeming to do them a great and unselfish kindness. The writer suggests that the story of Venetian commercialism is like the records of our twentieth century diplomacy; and so well has he drawn the picture that one would almost think that we are indebted for this interesting book to a Tammanyite who has gone out looking for comfort in the acts of those political sages we are so apt to think well of.

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THE "MACHINE" ABOLISHED AND THE PEOPLE RESTORED TO POWER. By Charles C. P. Clark, M. D. Cloth; 196 pages. \$1.00. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

The purpose of this book is to create a radical change in the methods of popular election. The author makes a severe onslaught upon existing machine methods in our politics. Were his criticism twice as severe it would not overstate the case. Everybody recognizes the defect in our political caucus methods of nominating candidates for public office. The primaries have become so completely subjected to "boss" manipulation, that the average citizen has ceased to attend them; and this neglect of the primaries, in turn, further encourages the "machine" manipulators in their methods. Hence, today, except on occasions of popular interest, it goes as a matter of course that the primaries

are controlled by the professional "machine" politician, and thus the conventions, which should be the representative nominating bodies, are little more than assemblies to confirm the program of the "bosses." This has become so general that it is characteristic of American politics. Periodically there is an outbreak in different parts of the country against this unrepresentative and often corrupt method of selecting candidates for their public office.

The real question is how to remedy these evils without destroying the representative principle in politics. In this little book, Mr. Clark attempts this task and introduces a very novel system of making nominations. He would abolish the practical "machine" altogether, and have nominations made by bodies in different districts, the members of which should be chosen by a system of lottery, similar to that by which citizens are drawn to serve on the jury. Mr. Clark's plan does not seem attractive, practical, or even representative. Juries are not representative of anything or anybody; they are drawn by lottery in order to prevent them from being representative. It is the element of impartiality that is sought in the jury. That is not what is wanted in politics. It is almost the opposite. What is wanted in candidates for public office is that they should be definitely representative of the parties and policies of those who select them. This Mr. Clark's system does not seem to provide for at all. His plan does not seem to furnish near so practical a reform as the direct nomination plan, which is partly in operation in Minnesota. The book will do some good, because it calls attention to a subject that must be discussed vigorously and extensively before satisfactory reform will be adopted.

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THE POEMS OF JOHN CLEVELAND. By John M. Berdan, Ph. D. Cloth; 270 pages. \$1.50 net. The Grafton Press, New York.



Very few poets can be classed among the "documents" and "sources" from which the history of certain periods may be drawn. The poems of John Cleveland are a remarkable exception, as they are a complete reflection both of the history and of the sentiments and taste of his day. Perhaps no single poet of the world has so completely reproduced his time, and handed down to other days a more perfect record of his environment.

In writing the life of Cleveland, in 1687, Winstanley spoke of him as "this eminent poet, the wit of our age." This is at once the final estimate and epitaph of John Cleveland. It is probably all that posterity will care to know of him—this happy characterization of him by a contemporary. The opinion illustrates how different may be the estimate set upon a man of talent or genius by his own and by a future age. The editor points out that Cleveland so exactly reflected the popular mind that within thirty-eight years, twenty-odd editions of his poems were published, while during the same period the unequalled *Minor Poems* of John Milton passed through only two editions. Cleveland was for his own age entirely, while Milton, like Shakspeare, was not for one age, but for all time. Possibly there are not a half a dozen readers of Cleveland's poems in England and America today, outside of those students who consult him for his unapproached fidelity to the sentiments of his time.

While recognizing the enduring value of Cleveland as an epitome of his age—possibly in its worst aspects—it can hardly be understood how poems of the kind he wrote could have appealed to an audience of taste, even in that depraved age. His influence, although attested by such men as Fuller, Phillips, and Dryden, must be doubted. It is questionable that, at any time, the writer of *billingsgate* and *illtempered wit* has ever had very much effect upon the opposite side. Such tactics have never won causes, no matter how much

they may please the fancy or the fury of the mob that applauds them.

It is unquestionable that Cleveland had a great facility for writing witty and stinging verse, and that his influence upon Butler's *Hudibras* was tremendous, and for this, of course, he deserves due credit. He was also probably the first successful user of one of the most beautiful metrical forms in English, the dactyl, which he used with considerable skill in his poem called "Mark Antony."

The book is made more valuable for students by full explanatory notes and several appendices, and by a very interesting and adequate introduction. It is a book that will be valued by all students of the dissolute era which was the precursor of the still more dissolute era of the Restoration.

## PROGRESS OF THE MONTH

### **The Political Situation**

It has been long since the political situation in a convention year has been so uncertain and unsatisfactory to both parties as it is at present. Neither party has made its definite choice of a standard-bearer, and no one man in either party commands the full respect and confidence of his own partizans.

It would seem at first glance that the situation in the Republican party is satisfactory to Mr. Roosevelt and his friends, but a closer view will show that if Mr. Roosevelt is nominated it will be because his party can not, for many reasons, agree upon any other candidate. That he is not the choice of the leaders, or of the intelligent element in his own faction, is made more and more evident every day. It will be an unhappy experience and memory if his occupancy of the White House shall be made possible solely by accident, in the first instance, and by mere political expediency, in the second. But this seems to be inevitable.

Two exceptional features of the Republican campaign have already become prominent; one is the difficulty of obtaining a chairman of the National Committee, and the other is getting the consent of any prominent man to run as vice-president. No one wants the responsibility of conducting the next campaign, and no one wants the dubious honor of being shelved politically by being nominated for vice-president. The last to decline that questionable honor is Senator Fairbanks, of Indiana. To be made vice-president is to be put in the closet with other puppets and marionettes, and nothing short of assassination can ever restore to political prominence the man who has been so inhumed.

Of the Democratic situation little can be said that is worth while. There are only two or three prominent names men-



tioned as candidates for the presidency—Bryan of course, his man Hearst, Judge Parker of New York, Senator Gorman of Maryland, Mr. Olney, the distinguished Secretary of State under Mr. Cleveland, and last, Mr. Cleveland himself. Among these, only Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Olney have the spirit of conservatism and such views on money and public policy as would win for them the confidence of the people. It is probable, however, that the Democratic convention will be controlled by the Bryanites, as any revolt from Bryanism would hopelessly defeat party hopes.

It is to be noted that in the recent Supreme Court decision, against the merger, the dissenting votes were cast by the three Democrats on the Supreme Bench and by one Republican. This incident would indicate that the "trust" issue will have to be eliminated from the Democratic platform, or, if used, it will prove a boomerang, as it would ill become the party to fight trusts, when its three justices in the highest court of the nation have deliberately endorsed the combination of capital usually described as a "trust."

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**Mormonism  
Must  
Go**

The sensational investigation of Senator Smoot in the United States Senate has resolved itself into an investigation of the supposed peril of Mormonism to our national morals. While no one would deliberately assent to the view that a Mormon has no right to a seat in the United States Congress, it is probable that such will be the practical effect of this investigation. It is not even alleged that Mr. Smoot is a polygamist, or that he has violated the law in any way; and, in this view, it seems a persecution of him for religious reasons, in direct violation of the Constitution. But Mr. Smoot is only the scape-goat, and beyond him is the real object of attack, and that is Mormonism. As long as polygamy is the creed of Mormonism, and is defended and maintained in violation of United States law, even in violation of the

last "revelation" from God to Mormon, the American people will refuse to permit a Mormon to hold a seat among their legislators. It will make no difference whether such an act is in violation of the Constitution or not. The American people believe that Mormonism is a menace to the moral life of the nation. There seems little doubt that, inch by inch, Mormonism will be crushed out except as an effete, harmless, and curious religious creed. In this connection it is to be noted that the United States has at last broken from the treaty relations with the Sultan of Sulu which permitted both slavery and polygamy under the American flag.

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**Supreme Court  
Merger  
Decision**

The United States Supreme Court, on March 14, handed down a decision affirming the decision of the lower court against the constitutionality of the merger of the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern railroad companies known as the Northern Securities Company. This decision has been received with dismay by all branches of business, as the principle upon which it is made—that the possession of power to restrict trade is in itself a violation of the anti-trust law—may be applied with equal justice and disaster to nearly all of the great combinations of capital throughout the country. In delivering the opinion of the court, Justice Harlan said:

Whether the free operation of the normal laws of competition is a wise and wholesome rule for trade and commerce is an economic question which this court need not consider or determine.

Many persons, we may judicially know, of wisdom, experience, and learning, believe that such a rule is more necessary in these days of enormous wealth than it ever was in any former period of our history; indeed, that the time has come when the public needs to be protected against the exactions of corporations wielding the power which attends the possession of unlimited capital. Be this as it may, Congress has, in effect, recognized the rule of free competition,

when declaring illegal every combination or conspiracy in restraint of interstate and international commerce. If, in the judgment of Congress, the public convenience or the general welfare will be best subserved when the natural laws of competition are left undisturbed by those engaged in interstate commerce, that must be, for all, the end of the matter, if this is to remain a government of laws and not of men.

The effect of the decision is to put an end to the merger of these two great companies, and to resolve the Northern Securities Company into its constituent parts. Mr. Morgan and Mr. Hill, the leaders of the great combination, have already signified their intention to comply with the decision at once.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the decision was the broad principle announced by Justice Brewer in his opinion, agreeing with the majority, that each case should stand upon its own merits, and that actual restraint of trade must be established. As this principle may be accepted as the basis of other decisions of the court, it is here given in Justice Brewer's words:

Instead of holding that the anti-trust act included all contracts, reasonable or unreasonable, in restraint of interstate trade, the ruling should have been that the contracts there presented were in themselves unreasonable restraints of interstate trade, and, therefore, within the scope of the act. Congress did not intend by that act to reach and destroy those minor contracts in partial restraint of trade which the long course of decisions at common law had affirmed were reasonable and ought to be upheld. The purpose rather was to add a statutory prohibition with prescribed penalties and remedies to nullify those contracts which were in direct restraint of trade, unreasonable and against public policy. Whenever a departure from common law rules and definitions is claimed, the purpose to make the departure should be clearly shown. Such a purpose does not appear and such a departure was not intended.

A remarkable fact about this case is that all of the justices



that agreed in affirming the decision against the merger were Republicans, and of the four dissenting justices all were Democrats except President Roosevelt's appointee, Justice Holmes.

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**The Panamá  
Treaty**

The Panamá treaty has been ratified by the Senate, by a vote of 66 to 14. This puts an end to the bickerings in Congress over our relations with Panamá and Colombia, and places the matter of an Isthmian canal within probable reach of success. The President has already appointed an Isthmian Commission, of which Rear-admiral John G. Walker is chairman, and the other members are General George W. Davis, a retired engineer officer; Colonel F. F. Hecker, of Detroit, Director of Transportation in the Spanish War; William Barclay Parsons, a distinguished engineer who had charge of the construction of the New York subway; and W. H. Burr, professor of engineering of Columbia University. Some little delay has been caused by legal complications in Paris, but it is thought that active work will be resumed on the Isthmus in a very short time.

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**A Doctor  
Made  
Major-general**

Men have risen to high military rank from almost every station in life. It is well known that the great Cyrus adopted as his standard the blacksmith's apron under which he first achieved notoriety. Joan of Arc was a milkmaid before *she* heard the mysterious voices that called her to high military rank. Cincinnatus was called from the plow to fight the enemies of his country, and miraculously succeeded. Indeed, blacksmiths, milkmaids, shepherds, farmers, clowns, poets, and priests have been called from their different vocations to assume high military station. The case of "Doctor" Leonard Wood is therefore sustained by numerous precedents, which Mr. Roosevelt did not care to cite when

he made him a major-general after a somewhat obscure medical career.

The medical profession so far as we can recall has contributed few men to the ranks of great military leaders; but, under the rule of imperialism, everything becomes possible, and the surgeon's scalpel may now become more powerful than the field marshal's baton, or the generalissimo's sword. It has been asserted that General Wood was never under fire, except for a few minutes in the not particularly creditable action of Las Guásimas, in Cuba, until he began his iridescent career in the slaughter of the Moros in Sulu. Of course when prescience promotes, it makes no difference whether the recipient of the honor has seen military service or not. The voices that summoned Joan of Arc knew the greatness of the maid; and Mr. Roosevelt of course knew the inherent brilliancy and latent Napoleonic genius of his medical friend.

But our foreign critics, and many persons in this country, will not trust to this occult knowledge, and will have very grave doubts as to the fitness of a doctor, untried in military science, for a high military rank. It is to be hoped that during the period when General Wood must inevitably be commander-in-chief of the American armies peace may reign supreme.

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**American  
Expansion  
Southward**

It is ominous that the Administration should have been so eager to interfere in the affairs of Santo Domingo. It is quite probable that in this particularly instance its attitude is irreproachable; but there is a great probability that when we once begin interfering in the affairs of a weak country, especially in a latitude over which runs the ideal sphere of American influence, we shall never "haul down the flag" or withdraw our forces.

It was all right and will always be all right to protect American citizens in every part of the world wherever

American citizens have the right to be, and conduct themselves properly; but the history of modern imperialistic states like Russia, Germany, England, and the United States, has been that, wherever a citizen has had to be protected by gunboats, or marines, or in any other martial way, the military forces have been reluctantly withdrawn, if withdrawn at all. The rule has been that the flag of imperialism, remains. It was so with England in Egypt, with Russia in a hundred places, and with the United States in the Philippines, and in Samoa, and Hawaii. It may be so in the case of Santo Domingo.

Indeed Secretary Taft, in speaking at the recent Ohio dinner, made an utterance that will be considered by many as peculiarly pregnant and ominous to our Latin-American neighbors. He asked whether any one could doubt if Santo Domingo would not be infinitely better off, if her government had been administered by us for the last hundred years. Of course that miserable republic would have been better off if its government had been administered by us for a hundred years; but it also would have been better off if its government had been administered by Germany, or France, or England. The significance of the question is in its implication. What is Santo Domingo to us, or we to Santo Domingo? Is it possible that Santo Domingo is to be the next purple patch of Latin territory that we are to seize? And is it possible that it will be merely the beginning of a series of expansions that will ultimately take us at least as far as the Isthmus of Panamá, if not to the Straits of Magellan? Our action in Panamá, our bluff and blustering treatment of Colombia, our recent action in Santo Domingo, all seem to justify the fear that is certainly felt by the Latin-American republics that the United States has begun a career of expansion, and that it will gradually absorb all of America northward to the Arctic and southward to the Antarctic.



**Independence  
for the  
Philippines**

It is remarkable that after so many years of our occupancy of the Philippines as absolute conquerors there should still be so persistent and powerful a demand for the independence of those islands. It is only quite recently that reason has begun to play its part in our relations with the people who helped us to oust Spain from the Far East, and who, in turn, were subjected to our new imperialistic greed. It has been, indeed, fortunate that we were represented in the government of these islands by two administrators whose character and ability would have reflected credit upon either the British or the Roman colonial organization—Schurman and Taft. Both of those men have urged, with remarkable far-sightedness, and with equally remarkable humanity, that the hope be held out to the Philippines of absolute independence. Mr. Taft, who is now Secretary of War, has adopted as a kind of slogan the phrase "The Philippines for the Filipinos;" and President Schurman has gone almost as far in his reply to a question, while making an address at New Rochelle; "What we have done for Cuba in a short time, I would like to see done for the Philippines in a reasonably longer time."

When the Philippines were seized by American troops in a manner that brought a blush of shame to the cheeks of every well-wisher of his country, there arose in the United States an outcry against "imperialism." But the Anti-imperialists injured their cause by the sharpness of their denunciation and abuse. It is hardly probable that any "Anglo-Saxons" would have dropped from their grasp the prey they had seized, but something might have been done to improve the situation if more moderate counsels had prevailed. The new movement in favor of Philippine independence has been begun more auspiciously. A number of the most influential men in the United States have united to form a "Philippine Independence Committee." Among its

members are such men as Charles F. Adams of Massachusetts, Andrew Carnegie, President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University, W. D. Howells, President David Starr Jordan, Bishop Potter of New York, President Schurman, Professor W. D. Sumner of Yale, and Professor Henry Van Dyke of Princeton. It is the purpose to send petitions to the national conventions of the Democratic and Republican parties asking a pledge that Philippine independence be established.

It is hoped that this movement will result in at least better relations between the Philippines and the United States, one that will be honorable to ourselves, and not intolerable to the Filipinos. But only after the islands shall have been restored to their native people will the catastrophe announced by President Schurman, the "suspension of American ideals," be averted.

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**The War  
in the  
Far East**

The war between Russia and Japan, although it has continued for less than two months, has developed the decided superiority of the Japanese over their colossal antagonist. The conflict was opened by one of the most brilliant naval operations that the world has seen, and one in which the Japanese again demonstrated their wonderful capacity for sea-fighting. They struck the Russian fleet at Port Arthur and at Chemulpo instantly, and effected such losses as immediately placed the balance of sea-power on their side. In other words, before Russia realized that war was begun, Japan had overcome the theoretical superiority of the Russian fleets in the Far East, and had obtained complete control of the sea. Such a swift and sweeping triumph has never been won before.

Up to this time military operations have been confined to the sea, with the exception of the cautious advance of the Japanese toward the Yalu River, on the northwestern Ko-

rean boundary and the opposing advance of Russian troops toward the Manchurian side of the same river. On the sea Japan has achieved several magnificent victories. She has disabled for a year, and possibly for the duration of the war, the two most powerful Russian ships, and sunk and disabled a number of Russian cruisers, torpedo-boats and torpedo-boat destroyers. Her fleets have been able to maintain the most disastrous bombardment of what have been called "Gibraltars" of the East, Port Arthur and Vladivostok, and have been absolutely uninjured by any fire from the shore batteries. They have demonstrated that Port Arthur is probably untenable under a continuous sea attack, and that the place will fall very shortly after it is cut off by a Japanese land army.

The brilliant achievements at Port Arthur were the work of Admiral Togo, who made a great reputation at the Yalu battle against the Chinese fleet in 1894. The Japanese that commanded at Chemulpo was Uriu, who succeeded in sinking two Russian ships. At Vladivostok the Japanese commander Komimura, was so familiar with the situation that he placed his squadron just outside the angle of fire of the Russian guns, and shelled the port at his pleasure, although within easy range of the Russian batteries.

While nothing definite has been done in the way of great victories, the Japanese by their decisive triumphs at sea, and by the rapidity of their mobilization in Korea, have clearly shown that they are far better organized than the Russians, and have already won the confidence of the world in their ultimate success. The news of some decisive action is expected daily, when the Japanese forces now marching toward the Yalu north of Ping Yang come into touch with the Russians who are in considerable force south of the Yalu at Wiju, and in greater force on the opposite shores.



**The Japanese  
and  
Torpedo-boats**

The Japanese have been the only sea-fighters that have demonstrated that the torpedo-boat is as efficient an engine of war as its admirers have contended. In 1894, when they were facing the Chinese, who had great battle-ships while they had only cruisers and second-class men-of-war, they did not hesitate to dash into Wei-hai-wei and sink the Chinese ships with their torpedo squadron—one of the most brilliant achievements in naval history. The world wondered, but was not convinced.

It will be remembered that in the Spanish war the American torpedo-boats were practically useless, except as the bearers of dispatches and as scouts. When Cervera's squadron lay in Santiago bay the American torpedo-boats did not enter the channel, where it now seems they could have made an easy prey of the four fine cruisers of Spain.

It is remarkable that even while the Japanese were repeatedly attacking the Russian battle-ships inside the harbor of Port Arthur, and sinking them, the United States Senate was proclaiming that the torpedo-boat was not effective, that the only reason the Japanese were succeeding was because of the inefficiency of the Russians. This is always the case, and the Americans will have only their short-sightedness to blame, if, in a war with a real fighting power, they have their magnificent battle-ships torpedoed in some harbor, as a matador stabs a bull in a Spanish arena.

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**Neutrality  
and  
Free Speech**

Russia, posing as the good friend of this country, is very sensitive to the criticism of the American press and people. Count Cassini, as well as the Russian newspapers and Administration, have shown great irritability because American sympathy is unquestionably and out-spokenly in favor of Japan, in a struggle in which the Americans know full well that the cause of civilization is upheld by the Japanese.

In the circumstances, it was quite reasonable that President Roosevelt should personally have assured the Russian Ambassador that the neutrality of this country would be absolutely maintained; but the President went to a dangerous length when he issued instructions against freedom of speech on this subject. His order is that "all officials of the government, civil, military, and naval, abstain from either action or speech which can legitimately cause irritation to either of the combatants."

It would seem that the wiser course would have been to trust to the common sense and tact of American officials, and to await some out-burst of unfriendly sentiment, as in the case of Captain Coghlan in the "Hoch der Kaiser incident"—then to have administered the proper rebuke. An order of this kind, without an offense, seems uncalled for, and is really not only a restriction of free speech, but almost an insult to the officials of the government.

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**Crisis  
in the  
Near East**

It is not at all unlikely that the Macedonians, Albanians, and other revolutionary Christian peoples in the Balkan Peninsula may avail themselves of the perplexity of Russia in the Far East to make another attempt to free themselves from Turkey. The Porte expects an outbreak, and is taking every precaution to crush it in its inception, and has warned the two protectors of the Balkan people, Russia and Austria, that trouble is feared. There are many and ominous signs that revolt is preparing throughout the northern provinces of Turkey.

Should war break out in the Balkans, it will be a very serious matter, as, in the troubled state of affairs in the Far East, neither Russia, nor England, nor indeed any power of Europe, would be willing to take the risk of coercing Turkey. Such a war would be a series of massacres and unmentionable atrocities. Turkey is bitterly opposed to the re-

forms which Russia and Austria have tried to force upon her, and it is quite possible that in the dilemma of Russia in the Far East, Turkey may reject these reforms altogether. Such a course would eventually be followed by an insurrection throughout Macedonia, and the Bulgarians would unquestionably hasten to the support of their kinsmen. Indeed, nothing is more likely than that the present war in the Far East may result in greater alterations of the map of Europe than any war since the time of Napoleon.

**England  
in  
Tibet**

Another outcome of the war in the Far East is the invasion of a peaceful neighbor, Tibet, by British and Indian forces. Possibly England, in the Anglo-Japanese alliance, had this invasion of Tibet in view. The moment this alliance was announced, Russia's hands were tied for the time, so far as the Indian frontiers and Afghanistan and Tibet were concerned. Even while war was brewing in the Far East, England was preparing to invade Tibet as an off-set to the diplomatic triumphs that Russia had already won at Lhasa.

Only imperialistic diplomacy could justify the sending of an army into the territory of a friendly power as a counter-move against the purely diplomatic activities on the part of a rival for the favors of a friendly neighbor; but England feels secure while Japanese fleets are sinking the Russian battle-ships, and has boldly replied to the Russian intimation that she would send a similar expedition into Tibet, that if such were done Great Britain would send an equal or a superior force. It has been long since the British foreign office adopted so heroic a tone. This unjust invasion of Tibet is the first melancholy effect of the war in the Far East.



# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## POLITICAL PRINCIPLE THE SAFEGUARD OF PROGRESS

THE HISTORY of human progress is the history of the struggle of the people to acquire more opportunities for industrial effort and more rights of political expression and power. Everywhere this struggle for new opportunities and power arises directly or indirectly from economic conditions. As people live and move economically, so they think socially and politically; and as they think, so they act. So, everywhere, regardless of race, climate, form of government, or religion, we find the people more or less restive or aggressive in their demands in proportion as their economic interests are widened, and their social experiences diversified.

These demands are always for some kind of individual rights. These may be industrial, religious, or social; but they always have some relation to the freedom and scope of personal action. These new rights and opportunities are ultimately obtained through some form of political action. It is in this field of political action that the institutions of society are formed and re-formed; modeled now upon this plan and now upon that; sometimes it is "divinely" appointed despotism, sometimes it is hereditary monarchy, sometimes it is constitutional monarchy, and sometimes it is democratic or popular representative government. Indeed, this has been the path of progress. Every mark of human advance has been registered in this remodeling of political, social, and religious institutions. Although the movement has been halty and jerky, and sometimes almost retrogressive, the tendency has ever been toward a more and more

perfect representation of the people in the government. Today the emperor of China, the shah of Persia and the tsar of Russia represent the despotic end of this line, and England and the United States represent the democratic.

In this struggle from despotism to democracy, from the one man authority to popular representation, progress has ever been through expediency to principle. New rights and opportunities are usually demanded because of economic and social necessity, and they are granted as a political expediency. The new demands are at first refused, sometimes those making them are persecuted. Concessions are made only when the demand is too strong and persistent safely to be resisted. The privileges and opportunities thus acquired come to be regarded as political and social rights; and, as they have been grudgingly conceded, there is always danger of their being taken away, if they are not tenaciously defended. It is this necessity of protecting rights that develops what we call political principle.

Whenever acquired industrial and political privileges come to be regarded as rights they pass into the realm of principle and become invested with a sacredness that nothing else can inspire. People will endure more sacrifices and face greater dangers for a principle than they will for the winning of new privileges. This sacredness of political principle has ever been the bulwark and safeguard of human progress. Magna Charta, the great charter of political rights wrested from King John by the exasperated barons, became sacred as representing the principle of individual rights, and, with no particular provocation, the English kings were compelled to renew it thirty-two times in eighty-five years. It was reluctantly conceded by John and disliked by his successors, who ignored and outraged on every opportunity the rights it conceded. But the vouchsafed rights rapidly passed into the realm of sacred principle. This became the basis of a sentiment to sustain which lead-

ers would readily become martyrs and the common people would defy "divinely" appointed monarchs. For principles thus established the people would endanger thrones and convulse society.

It was in an effort to sustain and enforce the political principles thus evolved that political parties came into existence. All political ideas were grouped around the principle of divine right and representation. At first the king was the embodiment of the divine right theory, and the barons of the principle of representation. As new questions of economic interests arose, new political groupings followed, as it always must because political grouping is always influenced by economic and social interests. The interests of the landed aristocrats became identical with those of the king. The aristocracy opposed the representative principle and supported the theory of hereditary and divine right. Under these two principles of political government the struggle for progress went on for centuries, the principle of representation always being the rallying point of the progressive grouping, and the principle of hereditary and divine right that of the opposition or the non-progressive faction.

The element that acted as a ratchet wheel in preventing any slipping backward in the struggle was the eagerness and well-nigh religious zeal with which the people were always ready to support a sacred principle already established. All the great charters and the bills of rights acquired their great popular support by a rehearsal of the ancient rights of the forefathers. Even Magna Charta reaffirmed the privileges and rights conceded in the charter of Henry I and the laws of Edward the Confessor, and so on with every enlargement of the right of Parliament. It was because of his opposition to the ancient rights of the people and Parliament, that Charles I lost his head. With the liberty so established, the House of Commons became the stronger branch of Parliament. But for the sacred sentiment



with which recognized political principles were invested, the fruits of progress may have been swept away over and over again and civilization been thwarted by the forces of barbarism. It is of the greatest importance, therefore, that, in modern society, political principles, when well established, should be highly valued and given a strict interpretation. There has always been an effort to substitute expediency for principle. While this may have some temporary advantage, it always has great dangers and often contains an element of permanent disadvantage. It is safe to say that nothing is thoroughly expedient that is inconsistent with the principles of political progress. The essential element in political progress is the representative principle. It may not always be the broadest democracy, but it will always be representative, because all social progress that the world has made has come along the line of representative institutions. Of course, the success of representative institutions must be accompanied by political fitness, for political duty is involved in representative institutions, but that is only the basis of the extension of the representative principle. Whenever the representative principle can be restricted to a smaller area, it is a sure sign that political retrogression has set in. Whenever that takes place the time has come for a vigorous reassertion of political principle. The restriction of normally evolved representation is always an evidence of the arrest of progress and a preparation for retrogression.

In this country we are rapidly approaching the time when the reassertion of political principle will be necessary to preserve the integrity of our institutions. This republic is now the highest embodiment of the representative principle. The whole of our national, state, and municipal administrations are based upon democratic representation—the expression of the will of the people in all the laws of the land, from the smallest school district to international affairs. This principle runs through every sentence of the Declaration of

Independence and every paragraph of the Constitution, and also the constitution or organic law of every state. It was the purpose of the founders of this government so to formulate the method of applying the representative principle as to make it permeate every department of the government. It was for this reason that the election of the president, though made through electors, represents the popular vote of the people in the states. It was provided that United States senators should be elected by state legislatures, so that the states as political units should have representation; and the members of the House of Representatives are elected by popular vote in equally divided districts, in order to give the popular voice direct expression in the national government. Thus, the attempt was made to procure popular representation in three forms.

For nearly half a century the people's rights in every particular were safeguarded by the strictest interpretation of the constitution, which vouchsafed this sacred right of representation. But in the early years of the country there was introduced an abnormal industrial feature which, by its very nature, was to impede the progress and development of the nation. This was the slavery system. Progress always implies freedom. With the advance of economic conditions, and the development of political rights and the assertion of the principle of politics, freedom was sure to come. Otherwise, civilization could not advance. This slavery system of industry was formally established before we were emancipated from monarchical England, and had set up political housekeeping on the democratic plan. When the Constitution was adopted, slavery had been established, and it had to be reckoned with; and in applying the new representative political principle in our institutions, the slave population had to be omitted, and the institutions of the republic were interpreted as applying only to free men. At first there was no difficulty in treating the slaves politically

as a negligible quantity; but it was impossible for this to be a permanent condition. The advance of civilization would sooner or later come in conflict with slavery, and the existence of slavery in the freest and most democratic country in the world was a political as well as an industrial anomaly.

In every decade of progress in other portions of the world the doom of the slavery system became more and more inevitable. The spirit of freedom in England became sufficiently strong to demand the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies in 1835. After this, the only slavery in christendom was in this country. It soon became manifest that the slave system in this country would have to be abandoned. As the slave system was recognized in the formation of our institutions, and strictly safeguarded through the rigid definition and recognition of the sovereign right of states to make their own laws, the advocates of slavery greatly strengthened their case by a very strict interpretation of the Constitution. This strict interpretation of the political principle of the sovereign right of states made their case so impregnable that the two political parties were grouped as "strict constructionists" and "loose constructionists," and the Democratic party became the defenders of strict interpretation and of the application of the representative principle. This was surely an abnormal state of affairs. The party that was standing for the strictest application of the principle of personal freedom and democratic government was the defender of a system of industry that civilization could not permanently endure; and the party that stood for a loose construction, which at that time meant contraction of political power and the paring down of the principle of democracy and representation, really represented the force, sentiment, and interests of freedom and progress. In short, the loose constructionists really substituted expediency for principle. This finally led to the Civil War, in which the loose constructionists triumphed,



and consequently, loose construction became the established method of interpreting our institutions. The verdict of history will doubtless be that under these conditions, liberal construction was in the interest of civilization, not because it afforded a sounder interpretation of political principle and the spirit of democratic institutions than strict construction, but because strict construction was being used in defense of an industrial system inherently opposed to freedom and progress. The success of the loose constructionists in the war made the party of strict construction a negligible quantity for a quarter of a century and gave the party of opportunism and expediency unchecked control.

This overthrow and practical discarding of all political principle as the guiding element in our public policies was a grave misfortune. It was entrusting the safety of the ship to the wisdom or caprice of the man at the helm. That is always a great risk. It seldom occurs that any statesman, and it almost never occurs that a series of statesmen, is wise enough to guide a great nation along safe lines without the salutary pressure of a recognized principle of public policy.

The overthrow of the logical construction of organic law and of the strict adherence to the political principle upon which our institutions were founded, was not due to any defect in the institutions or in the principle. It was the inevitable result of attempting the impossible, namely, to harness together the two inherently antagonistic principles of slavery and freedom under the same constitution. It may be said that this could not be avoided, but that in no wise alters the case. The law of progress and the principle of freedom were forced to conflict. It matters not that it was not sanely conducted. The slave problem might have been solved in many other ways better than by war. War might have been avoided by allowing the slave states to secede from the Union, by the gradual purchase of the

slaves, or by ignoring the problem and allowing the slow process by which the slaves themselves by their own advancement would have procured freedom, even though it took centuries. It matters not by what method the elimination of slavery from our civilization was brought about; sooner or later it was bound to come, or progress must stop.

The existence of this system, which had been arbitrarily introduced, was the misfortune of the situation. The economic necessity and the large investment in the slave system, naturally enough led to the strictest interpretation of our institutions in order that it might be preserved. Progress itself brought on the rupture and the result of the "irrepressible conflict" has been that for the last forty years loose construction has prevailed and the fundamental political principles have had a small part in our public policy. The American idea of freedom and democratic institutions, the maximum sovereignty of the individual and the minimum authority of the government, has practically disappeared. Individual rights and the sacredness of the representative principle are treated with more and more levity every day. Instead of keeping this principle of maximum personal freedom and minimum government authority to the fore as the guiding element in our public policy, we are drifting farther and farther from the recognition of any political principle, and floating rudderless on the sea of temporary expediency. Consequently, we see on every hand a growing eagerness to call for government interference as the remedy for every economic, social, and political grievance, and, in the sphere of industry, the principle of personal freedom is less and less recognized. The normal operation of economic law is more hampered and restricted by arbitrary legislation every year. Instead of allowing labor and capital a free hand to adjust their industrial relations, and exact the maximum from nature, legislative restriction and regulation is more and more insisted upon and state ownership control

of economic enterprise has been more and more advocated, until the spirit of socialism is rapidly pervading the whole field of economic discussion, and is finding practical expression in the restrictive policy of our political institutions. Congress and the state legislatures are chiefly absorbed by the discussion and enactment of restrictive industrial legislation, and our courts are more and more called upon to interpret laws against the freedom of private enterprise. Wherever an industrial concern, through its economic strength, becomes sufficiently successful to demonstrate its economic superiority in the productive market, state or national legislation is invoked to arrest its progress. This has become so general that every interest that fails to keep up in the race, joins the lobby, and contributes to the *quasi* socialistic demand for the state suppression of economic and industrial freedom.

So utterly loose has our construction of political principle become that the most temporary expediency is deemed sufficient by the courts to justify restricting freedom. Nor is this peculiar to any section or class or party. The laborers and the consuming public, on the slightest provocation, invoke legislation to repress capital. If prices rise, or strikes are declared, or large corporations succeed against small ones, it is regarded as a sufficient cause for state interference. It is only a question whether sufficient popular sentiment can be invoked to enact the necessary restrictive legislation. That this is contrary to the spirit of freedom is not taken into account. The momentary expediency is the strong fact appealed to, and, unfortunately, with success. The recent decision in the Merger Case is a striking example of this disregard of the substitution of expediency for principle, and the protest raised by the dissenting judges was a wholesome reminder of the perilous goal to which this neglect of principle for expediency is leading. In the long run, all this will prove fatuous, because



it will react upon those who invoke it. When laborers ask for restrictive legislation against corporations, they find sooner or later that it reacts against labor-unions, and *vice-versa*. The effort of each class to restrain and hamper the freedom of others tends steadily to undermine the principles of individual freedom throughout the whole fabric of society.

This same dangerous neglect of principle is rapidly showing itself in the political institutions of the country. The political principle most carefully emphasized in the Declaration of Independence, safeguarded in the Constitution, and imbedded in the very spirit of our institutions is the principle of democratic representation in all the departments of our government. With the decadence of strict construction, and the substitution of expediency for principle, the spirit of representation in our institutions is gradually being undermined. The disregard for the representative departments is becoming more manifest, and the spirit of authority and dictation and the usurpation of the functions of the representative by the executive department of our government is becoming bolder every year. In the national government the popular branches are gradually being shorn of their authority. The House of Representatives, which most directly represents the will of the people, and should be the most important branch of the national government, is gradually losing its power and influence. Instead of petitioning Congress, the President now dictates to Congress; and the Senate, the less representative of the two branches of Congress, is gradually assuming control of the House. Mr. Cleveland talked to Congress with a superiority that the tsar would not dare to assume toward his ministers. The Republicans and some Democrats vigorously protested against this, but it prevailed to the end. President Roosevelt is the embodiment of that spirit in even a greater degree than was Mr. Cleveland. With him, it has become

almost normal to insist upon this or that being done. If he wants legislation, he threatens Congress through the power of appointments, extra sessions, and so forth, until he practically exercises the power of coercion. In the Senate there have quite recently been many evidences of a similar kind of dictatorship—leadership it can not be called. One or two men decide what is or is not to be done. The Senate assumes to decide what the House must and must not do, and the President assumes to dictate to both of them. So that the principle of representation is rapidly dying in our government. The Constitution intended that the President should be only an executive officer to carry out the laws and administer the policy determined by the legislative branches of the government; and that the Senate should not interfere with fiscal legislation. It intended to give the controlling power of the vital functions of the government to the House of Representatives, which is elected for the shortest term, on the democratic principle of direct representation.

There is a symptom of rebellion against this general usurpation in the demand for the election of United States Senators by popular vote; but this affords no real remedy for the situation. The House of Representatives is already elected by popular vote, and it is rapidly losing its power and influence. The least representative branches are absorbing the authority and power of government. All this is the natural outcome of loose construction of the political principle of our institutions and the drifting toward expediency as the basis of popular policy. Expediency justifies usurpation in certain extreme circumstances; but it does not justify disregard for the rights of others. It is the spirit of lawlessness, it is the spirit of "lynch" law. It is disregard for the sacredness of political principle, of individual rights, and of the spirit and letter of representative institutions.

The remedy for all this is not the passing of more laws, or a change in the method of electing United States Sen-

ators, or any alteration of constitutional laws; but a return to the policy of strict interpretation of the Constitution and laws, and a higher regard for the political principles upon which the republic was founded. Loose construction, through the existence of unfortunately abnormal conditions, became necessary; but all that has now disappeared. The slave system has gone, and the conditions of economic and political freedom apply to all alike. All justification for loose construction and the policy of mere drift and expediency has disappeared, and the safeguard of the principles of representation in our institutions and the rights of private enterprise and personal freedom demand that we return to the policy of strict construction.

If this involves the advent of a new political party, then so be it. If the Republican party has lost regard for the democratic principle in government, and is so wedded to opportunism and expediency as to be unable to prevent the drifting toward executive usurpation, and the emasculation of the representative departments of government, then its usefulness to the republic is nearly ended. This is not a question of party, but a question of the principle of free government. The preservation of the principle of freedom and the representative character of our government is worth more to the American people and to civilization than the existence of any political party, however great has been its services to the country and to the world.



## IS THE BALANCE OF TRADE A NET GAIN?

IF PROTECTION is to be continued in this country as a national policy, it must, sooner or later, be made to rest on economic principles. It must be justified by a sound interpretation of economic facts. Like every other principle in society, protection will promote industrial improvement only when conditions favorable to economic development are protected. Nothing can really promote industrial advancement except opportunity for growth. Opportunity does not mean merely the absence of arbitrary obstructions. A farmer might locate in the midst of a desert absolutely free from arbitrary restriction, and yet have no opportunity for industrial prosperity. Industrial opportunity means the presence of economic conditions favorable to industrial success. It is only where those favorable conditions exist, but can not be utilized without protection, that protection is really necessary and useful to the industrial development of the country. For instance, it would be useless to protect the desert from competition, or to build a high tariff wall around a small coal mining community; because in neither case does the primary conditions for industrial development exist, and no amount of mere protection could create conditions. It can only safeguard opportunities.

The fact that this important element in protection doctrine is so little understood and so generally neglected in the reasoning and literature on the subject, lays the protection policy open to the constant onslaught of free-traders. The notion that, because a protective tariff will promote industry under some conditions, it will necessarily do so under all conditions, is very common among the advocates of protection; and this leads to many absurd statements. Every such uneconomic and therefore untenable reason given for protection is an injury to the cause.

Among such crude and altogether fallacious ideas is the notion that a favorable balance of trade is a net gain to a nation, and an unfavorable balance is universally a net loss. This is a very old notion, and was largely used by protectionists down to the close of the eighteenth century. Whatever else Adam Smith did or did not do, he certainly punctured that theory, which is known as the Mercantile System. This theory proceeds upon the assumption that the chief object of national trade is to procure a cash balance, and the nation that sells more than it buys and receives a balance in cash is that much the gainer; that is, the cash balance is so much net gain.

Whatever may have been the excuse for presenting this theory in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there can be none for presenting it in the twentieth. It is one of the arguments that the enemies of protection like to get a chance at, because it is so easy to demolish, and it furnishes a seeming justification for ridiculing the protection doctrine. It is, therefore, a matter of no little surprise to find the following printed, with a conspicuous heading and evident approval, in our esteemed contemporary, *The Protectionist*:

From 1790 to 1903 inclusive is 114 years. During 55½ years of that period the United States has been under a protective tariff, and 58½ years under a low tariff.

*The real value to us of either tariff is—how much foreign money we can take in for goods sold over and above the money we pay out to foreign countries for goods bought.* The excess of money received is national gain. How does our foreign cash account for merchandise bought and sold during the 114 years stand? A tabulation prepared by the Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and published in the Congressional Record a few days ago, gives the answer in detail. That tabulation summarizes as follows:

Under a Protective Tariff—Thirty-one years of excess exports, \$5,-470,423,925; less 24½ years of excess imports (including three of the Civil War years), \$1,371,397,064. Net excess exports, \$4,099,026,861.

Under Low Tariff—Forty-eight and one-half years of excess imports,

\$1,068,872,161; less ten years of excess exports, \$553,917,230. Net excess imports, \$514,954,931. Total protective tariff gain, \$4,613,981,792.

*In other words protective tariffs, in providing more work, more wages, more homes, more education and more of the comforts of life, have done it to the extent of over four thousand six hundred millions of gold dollars transferred from foreign to American pockets.*

Is not that worth "standing pat" on?

WALTER J. BALLARD.

The italics are ours.

*The Protectionist* is the organ for the Home Market Club, one of the strongest, if not the strongest, protectionist organization in the country. In both wealth and brains it is preeminently a representative body, and should stand, as in the main it does, for sound economic interpretation of protection philosophy. It is on this account that anything that appears in *The Protectionist* is likely to be regarded as representing advanced thought on the subject. The above piece of "mercantilism" may represent the views of the Home Market Club or *The Protectionist*, but it certainly does not represent the modern theory of protection as held in this country.

If protected policy rested upon such reasoning, it certainly would deserve to fall, as it would not be entitled to recognition as an economic doctrine. If this theory were true, every country with a net cash balance against it in its foreign trade, would be impoverished by the transaction, and the countries receiving the favorable balance would be the gainers to that extent. According to this theory, the gains of one country could be procured only by the losses of another country, and this is the view presented by the above article.

Nothing could be farther from the truth. All commercial experience, domestic as well as foreign trade, is a contradiction of this statement, and all careful thinking for the last seventy-five years has rejected it as an exploded theory. If it were true, England must have been suffering a net loss from her foreign trade for the last half a century, for the "money she has taken in for the goods she has sold" has



almost constantly been less than the "money she has paid out to foreign countries for goods bought." In other words, the cash balance of trade has been against her, and everybody knows that her foreign trade has not been a national loss. If it had, she would have been a bankrupt long ago. It frequently happens that a people are much worse off when they are selling to foreign countries more than they buy, than when they are buying from foreign countries more than they sell. In the years of the Irish famine, wheat was exported from Ireland to England, while the Irish people were starving. The Irish people were too poor to buy Irish wheat, and it was exported to those who could pay for it. This might happen in a hundred ways, indicating poverty rather than prosperity.

The prosperity of a nation is not incitated by what it sells abroad, but what it produces and is able to consume at home. The fallacy of this balance of trade notion is illustrated in our own experience. Take the last three years. There never was a time when we had such industrial development, such general prosperity, and such a continuous demand for all kinds of labor, at constantly increasing wages, nor was there ever a time when the *per capita* consumption of the nation was greater, as will be seen by the following table. Yet during these three years (1901, 1902, and 1903) our balance of trade diminished forty per cent.

	Imports	Per Cap.	Exports	Per Cap.	Balance of Trade
1898 .....	616,049,654	8.05	1,231,482,330	16.59	615,432,676
1899 .....	697,148,489	9.22	1,227,023,302	16.20	529,874,813
1900 .....	849,941,184	10.88	1,394,483,082	17.96	544,541,898
1901 .....	823,172,165	10.58	1,487,764,991	18.81	664,592,826
1902 .....	903,320,948	11.43	1,381,719,401	17.49	478,398,453
1903 .....	1,025,719,237	.....	1,420,141,679	.....	394,422,442

The reports of the first few months of 1904 show the same rate of loss in the balance of trade.

It will be seen from the above that our favorable balance of trade has been declining ever since the passage of the

Dingley bill. The balance of trade in 1903 was 221,010,234 less than it was in 1898, 270,170,384 less than it was in 1901, and 63,976,011 less than it was in 1902. If this balance of trade theory were true, our prosperity has been steadily declining during the last six years. *The Protectionist* and the Home Market Club do not believe anything of the kind. They know, as everyone else does, that those have been the most prosperous years in our history, and it is upon the basis of this prosperity that they are asking the people to sustain the protective policy.

If it were true that "the real value to us of the tariff" is "how much foreign money we can take in for goods sold over and above the money we pay out to foreign countries for goods bought," the tariff is a failure; because such balance of trade is only a little more than half what it was when the present tariff law was adopted. If we continue this kind of prosperity, we shall soon be having a net loss. Of course, the absurdity of this is too obvious for discussion. It is about as erroneous as a statement could possibly be. It is not true either of the tariff or of prosperity. The value of the tariff to this country is in no way measured, nor has it any necessary relation to "how much foreign money we can take in for goods sold over and above the money we pay out to foreign countries for goods bought." The tariff might be a great advantage to this country if we paid twice as much money for goods bought from foreign countries, as we received for goods sold to foreign countries, if the purchase were of raw material used in our manufacture of competing goods, and were paid for in coal dug from our mines.

The whole idea of favorable and unfavorable balance of trade is erroneous. There is no more a favorable balance in foreign trade than there is in domestic trade. The only gain is in the profits of the business, which is the same whether it be domestic or foreign. All goods sold abroad

are paid for in cash. To be sure, the cash is not always exported directly to each customer, but that makes no difference. The fact that the transaction is consummated by purchase of bills of exchange in nowise alters its nature. Each transaction is settled on its own account, the same as the purchases of domestic consumers. In the aggregate, all exports have an equivalent in imports, either in goods or money. In this sense, money is the same as merchandise. It has to be procured either by sale of goods elsewhere, or by direct production from the mines. Suppose, for instance, we export \$100,000,000 worth of gold from our mines. Would anybody pretend that this \$100,000,000 of gold was \$100,000,000 of loss to this country? The sale of the gold is just as important to the mine owners as the sale of iron, cotton, and steel is to the iron, cotton, and steel manufacturers. It is their product, and it is from its sale that they make their profits. Of course, there is an inconvenience in exporting gold if it is needed in our monetary circulation, especially if the exportation tends to create a money stringency. But this disadvantage is not due to the mere fact that gold is exported. Gold must be exported from countries that mine it to countries that do not, or the non-gold-producing countries could never have any. If the exportation of gold is to be regarded as a net loss to the nation, those who can not produce gold, and have to buy it, are the gainers; and those who produce, and have to sell it are the losers, by the full amount of production. Nothing so absurd can be seriously pretended.

The truth is that the so-called balance of trade does not necessarily indicate anything definite regarding either the prosperity of a country, or the benefits of a tariff. The thing that really indicates prosperity is the volume and profitableness of the business and consumption of the nation; but whether the goods are all produced at home, or partly imported, affects the prosperity only so far as it affects the



character and diversification of the industries. To the extent that protection first promoted this diversification of industries, it has contributed to the prosperity and welfare of the nation. Our great manufacturing industries are the monuments of the benefits of protection, and not our balance of international trade. These industries and the material welfare they represent are not gained at the expense of some other country, but are the development of the resources of this country, and are so much addition to the world's wealth and welfare. To the extent that protection has made this possible, protection has contributed to the general welfare of the race.

The protection to our iron and steel industries is not reflected in any way by the amount of iron and steel we sell or buy abroad, or by the colossal amount we produce. An important fact in this connection is that nearly all the development of our iron and steel manufacture has been for home consumption. It is this home consumption that indicates the social and economic welfare of our people. This has been brought about by protecting for domestic capital and labor the opportunity afforded by the domestic market, which would not have existed under free trade, and this is the great contribution that protection has made.

The concluding paragraph in the statement quoted from *The Protectionist* emphasizes the erroneous and utterly mistaken notion regarding the sort of protection described in the first paragraph. The writer of it asserts that protective tariffs are "providing more work, more wages, more homes, more education, and more of the comforts of life" and "have done it to the extent of over 4,600,000,000 of gold dollars transferred from foreign to American pockets." This statement is wholly and unqualifiedly false. The education and improvement is due to nothing of the kind. Protection in the United States has not "transferred gold dollars" from foreign to American pockets at all. It has transferred

wealth from nature to American pockets. In other words, it has increased the wealth and welfare of this country by increasing the productive forces of the country, and not by lessening the production and prosperity of other countries. On the contrary, no country has been injured and most countries have been benefited, by the immense progress made in this country through our industrial diversification. For instance, under the influence, and as a direct result of our industrial development, improvements in machinery and methods have been introduced in almost every department of manufacture. The benefits of these inventions are reflected back to foreign countries by the introduction of similar machinery there, or importation of our machines. There is scarcely a country in Europe which has not been benefited by the use of our improved agricultural machinery, besides improved methods in the organization of industry. It would take more than the space devoted to this article to enumerate them.

The statement that protection transfers money from foreign to American pockets is the worse form of the worse libel ever circulated against protective policies. It is the standard statement of such men as Atkinson and Professor Sumner that protection can protect only at the expense of other people, which is neither true in fact nor in theory. If it were true that the improved standard of living of the American laborers was at the expense of the wages of foreign laborers, the laborers in many countries would be in the poor-house. The amount of American wages above the wages in most European countries equals all the wages paid abroad; but the fact is that wages have increased in foreign countries as well as in the United States. While we have been making marvelous progress under a protective policy, and to a considerable extent by virtue of it, other countries have been making progress also, though none so much as we.

If our progress consisted only in the favorable balance of our foreign trade, it would not be perceptible. In fact, our whole foreign trade, both imports and exports, is not enough to indicate any perceptible progress. The real progress that we have made is in our domestic production and consumption; and that is many times larger than our entire foreign trade.

The great thing that is of importance to this country, has been in the past, and will be in the future, is the guaranteed opportunities of American enterprise to enjoy the entire American market. With that, there is no assignable limit to our progress. Every year increases the extent and variety of our industrial prospects, and to protect this, is to protect American civilization. In protecting the advance of American civilization we are contributing to human progress the world over, and more than we could possibly do in any other way.

The idea that the "real value" to us of the tariff is even remotely measured by the balance of foreign trade, and that all the wages, education, and comforts of life in this country are due to "transferring gold dollars from foreign to American pockets," is the very reverse of the truth. It is contrary alike to facts, to experience, and to every principle of sound economic philosophy.



## ECONOMIC EFFECT OF HIGH WAGES

IN A RECENT issue the New York *Journal of Commerce* devoted a leading editorial to the above subject. It is one of the few daily papers in this country that put conscience into their editorial columns. It stands for doctrine; it advocates the principles it believes in, and never indulges in buncombe. It sometimes says queer things, but it always believes them. The *Journal* has for years believed that American wages are too high and that the best interests of the country demand that there should be a general reduction, and a few years ago it had the courage to devote several editorials to the economic necessity of this policy. There are a great many others who believe with the *Journal*, but they are not frank enough nor serious enough squarely to advocate their views, so they content themselves with belittling every effort of the workingmen to improve their condition. Usually they make a pretense of favoring high wages, but always object to the method of procuring them. Not so with the *Journal*. It believes that the American wages are too high and that they should be lowered. On a former occasion it advocated the lowering of wages in this country to the European level.

It argued that an increase of wages necessarily leads to higher prices and diminished consumption; whereas, on the other hand, a reduction of wages would enable manufacturers to lower prices and to that extent compensate the wage-earner for his loss in wages. But the lower prices thus obtained would enable the non-wage-earning consumers to increase their consumption. Thus the lowering of wages would promote prosperity. An additional reason, and, with the *Journal of Commerce*, a most important one, is that this lowering of prices through lower wages would enable manufactures better to compete for business in the foreign market. In other words, low wages would increase foreign

trade. In an editorial of April 9, it practically repeats the argument it presented in 1897.

The *Journal of Commerce* recognizes that, with the rapid revival of activity within the last few years, in many lines of industry demand pressed hard upon supply and caused some advance in prices, and an increase in the cost of living necessarily followed. This, it admits, "caused a legitimate demand for higher wages, lest an undue share of the larger production go to capital. . . . In these efforts the demands of organized labor outstripped the increase in prices, which was reacting upon the general demand for consumption and putting a check upon it." Then, after a lengthened argument showing how high wages necessarily force up prices, limit consumption, and check prosperity, it says: "So far as organized labor has exacted more than its due share it has been at the expense of others, most of whom are unorganized workingmen, and those whose occupations are not susceptible of combination. The heaviest incubus upon industry and business today is the exaction of labor-unions, based upon ignorance of the economic forces with which they deal, and there can be no substantial recovery of vigor and vitality, no restoration of industrial health, which we call 'prosperity,' until *that is lifted by the reduction of wages to the normal level.*"

Of course the reasoning here, as on former occasions, is based upon the belief which with the *Journal of Commerce* and many others amounts to an economic doctrine that low wages increase consumption. It is doubtful if even the *Journal* would seriously contend that a lowering of wages in all industries in this country would increase domestic consumption of products; but it argues that it would increase the capacity of American manufacturers to sell abroad. Now is that what this country wants? Is that conducive to permanent prosperity? Is it conducive, in the long run, to industrial development? If it is, the world has not yet given

an illustration of the fact. That is an economic hypothesis that has never been demonstrated. It is undoubtedly true that if American wages could be lowered 50 per cent., our manufacturers could under-sell foreigners in their own markets; but that could only be temporary. Suppose that, by lowering wages, we could increase our out-put 25 per cent., and supplant the English manufacturers in the English market. Would the English people consume more manufactured products because their laborers were all thrown out of work and their factories either closed or running at a loss? Surely not. One of two things would logically follow; either that the English wages would be correspondingly lowered to meet our competition, or else their laborers would be thrown into idleness, and we should supply the goods. If their wages were lowered to meet our competition, that would be a positive injury to the welfare, comfort, and civilization of England. If this were done, and we furnished the goods, the laborers would either have to remain in idleness or emigrate to this country to find work. The result of that would simply be the transferring of English manufacturers to this country and having the work of both countries done at a lower wage rate. The net result would be an injury to the laboring classes of both England and this country and a corresponding diminution in the aggregate consumption. The consumption of the wage classes in both countries is a very serious item in the general market. If that is lessened, the whole market is permanently restricted.

It follows, therefore, that any increase of a foreign market by lowering wages here could not result in any permanent benefit to anybody. It would be an injury to the laborers here to the extent that it would increase foreign sales. It would seriously injure labor abroad. The world is not benefited by one nation stealing the trade of another. It is only benefited by increasing the production and lowering the prices of products, without diminishing the wherewithal



to buy. There is no instance in the industrial history of mankind where the general lowering of wages ever helped industrial prosperity, or promoted the progress and welfare of a nation. Cheap labor always means poor consumers and usually poor citizens. All economic history points a moral in the other direction. In proportion as machinery is introduced into manufactures do the wage-workers, that is the common people, become more important as consumers, because machine production can be profitable only when it supplies a wide range and large aggregate consumption. There is not a country in the world where machine products could be made profitable without the consumption of the laboring classes. They are the very basis of the market's vitality. Not a railway in this country could be long continued in operation if the products transported and the people carried were limited to the non-wage-earning class. It is quite clear, therefore, that any general impairment of the demand for goods by the wage-class is an injury to the very basis of business prosperity. Of course there is a limit to what can be paid in wages at any time, but there never was a time when a general reduction in wages would be an advantage to any country in the world. It might be an advantage to individual employers and a temporary advantage to a given industry; but never could it be a permanent advantage to the country if it were general. If this doctrine were true, slave labor would be more conducive to prosperity and civilization than free labor.

"So far," says the *Journal of Commerce*, "as organized labor has exacted more than its due share it has been at the expense of others, most of whom are unorganized workmen and whose occupations are not susceptible of combination." This is not true. Organized labor often does foolish things. It inaugurates foolish strikes; it makes utterly untenable demands of interference with the management of business, the appointments of overseers, the restriction of out-put, and

the employment of only union laborers. But organized labor never injured the wages of any other class. This statement of the *Journal's* is a mere assumption. It is very much like the statement of Professor Sumner that "protection can never increase production in one place without lessening it in another." The truth is that it is doing that all the time. The wages of organized labor are never at the expense of unorganized labor. On the contrary, unorganized labor has always benefited by the efforts of organized labor. For example, organized labor has struggled and spent its money and energy in advocating a reduction of the hours of labor. Before the trade-unions made their great struggle on this question, every laborer in mines and shops in this country was working from eleven to twelve hours a day. Organized labor never constituted more than 20 per cent. of the laborers, but when they succeeded in getting the hours of labor reduced for themselves, they were reduced for everybody, and the 75 per cent. of unorganized labor which never lifted a finger or contributed a farthing toward accomplishing this, got the full benefit. So with the increase of wages. When the wages of carpenters, of plumbers, of bricklayers, of painters, and of textile workers are advanced by the efforts of unions, the non-union man gets the benefit, because wages are advanced for the whole trade. If wages were advanced only for the members of labor-unions, there would be no workmen outside of the unions, or else the increase would have very little effect on the cost of production and the complaint of the *Journal* would be an empty wail.

The history of economic progress during the last hundred years contradicts the entire contention of the *Journal of Commerce* on this point. If laborers were always contented with the wages they receive, they would never receive an increase. There are only a few exceptions in a century's history where employers of large numbers have voluntarily

increased wages. Every reduction of the hours of labor, and every increase of wages, has come as a concession to an urgent demand, very often under threat of a strike, but always as a result of an urgent demand. If the increase of wages had always resulted in a raise of prices and the diminution of consumption and, consequently, an injury to the laborers, the wage-workers of this country and England would now be on the threshold of the poor-house, because prices would be so high that they could buy nothing, and the non-wage-earning class could buy very little. But none of this has happened for fifty years.

There has been a steady tendency toward high wages. The general wage level today is double what it was fifty years ago. If that had resulted in doubling the cost of production, industrial progress would have been impossible. But everyone knows that with this increase of wages has come a lowering, instead of a raising, of prices. How has this come about? Is it the result of some miraculous force entirely independent of wages? Not at all. It is a result of constant economies through invention and improved methods applied by capital. But what has brought this increased demand is the higher wages received by the millions of wage-workers and other influences on the general standard of living in the community. The great improvement in all industries, which was little short of revolution, was all due to this. This is due directly to the multiplication of our manufactures and our railroad mileage and our immense steamship transportation. But what is this due to? To nothing but the increased consumption by the people. This increased consumption has not taken place in China. The consumption per capita there has not perceptibly increased in a century. Nor has the aggregate consumption of China materially increased. But there has been increased consumption by the people of the United States and of England and of Germany, where there has been an increase in wages.



If the common people of these countries had increased their demands no faster than have the people of China, practically none of the improved methods of production of the last fifty years would have been possible. Yet this increased consumption is practically all directly and indirectly due to the increase of wages during the last half century.

The *Journal of Commerce* points out, as among the evils of increasing wages, the increased cost of production, which thereby diminishes the profits of capital and tends to increase the price, thus lessening consumption. It says "the inordinate increase in wages in the building trades (in New York city) has "caused a decrease in building operations." But there is another side to this, which our contemporary seems not to see, and that is that this is very often necessary as a wholesome check to "boom" operations. If profits in building trades, and for that matter in any other line of business, can be kept very large, the business is sure to be over-done and there will follow a reaction and often a collapse. Suppose there had been no increase of wages in the building trades in New York city, it is more than probable that building operations would have continued out of all proportion to the needs of the city, and would have become, as it frequently has in other cities, a speculative inflation. This increase of wages has a very wholesome and steadying influence upon building operations. It tends to check unreasonable expansion of the business and to distribute a large proportion of the profits among the employers and thus enable them to have remunerative rents. If during the last six years wages had been kept where they were under the Cleveland régime the chances of getting remunerative rents on the inordinate inflation of buildings would have been very much less and the reaction much more certain and disastrous. As it is, there will probably be no reaction at all, but simply a wholesome check, which will make present

investments profitable by arresting the inflation of unprofitable building.

"So far as organized labor has exacted more than its due share," says the *Journal*, "it has been at the expense of others." What is the "due share" of labor? Who shall determine it? Shall the laborers ask the contractors and corporations to decide what is their "due share?" Would the *Journal of Commerce* have some outside person regulate the "due share" of labor in the profits of production? The *Journal* would not seriously think of such a thing. It is a stickler for having prices and wages determined by the action and reaction of competitive forces. There are only two ways of fixing the laborers' "due share." One is by government authority, as under socialism; and the other by free competitive action among laborers and capitalists.

If the laborers can, by their own economic influence, exact an increase of wages, it is their right and their duty to do it; and that is the highest law, and that is the only economic test of what is their "due share." Laborers have the same right to increase their share of the products as the capitalists have to exact a profit, so long as they can do it by orderly methods, without violating the freedom and rights of others. All labor is subjected to the same general law as is the price of everything that is bought and sold. There is no prescribed "share" that can be pronounced to be large, or to be small. Every factor in production has the economic and the moral right to make its own share. Whenever it makes it too large, and thereby becomes too expensive for profitable use, it lessens the demand for its own services and sets in motion the correction of its own error. That is true of manufacturers in regard to prices, as it is of laborers in regard to wages. When manufacturers demand inordinate prices, they tend to lessen the amount of their sales and thereby curtail their aggregate amount of earnings.

This theory that higher wages are harmful to business

prosperity is essentially fallacious. It rests on no sound principle in economics or experience. The general lowering of wages is never beneficial to the wage class, to the employers, or to the community. It may afford a temporary benefit to individual employers or to a given group, or to a given industry; but this benefit can be only temporary, because it would be limited to a small group whose products could be sold to those whose wages had not been lowered. There can never be any economic advantage to producers in lessening the income of the consumer of their products. Low wages can be beneficial only when the demand does not depend upon the consumption of their poorly paid laborers. If the products of slavery depended upon the consumption of the slaves, the slave system could not have been endured for a generation. Today the market for manufactured products chiefly depends upon the consumption of the common people; therefore any lowering of the demand of the common people is a direct injury to the very foundation of business prosperity.

But the *Journal of Commerce* may say that all this is true in regard to domestic production and domestic consumption, that is to say where the consumption and standard of living of the people furnish the market for the products; but in regard to foreign trade, the case may be quite different. If we could lower the wages in this country, and sell our products to foreign countries, the lessened consumption of our laborers would not injure the demand for the products, because the producers are in one country and the consumers in another; and this is the real basis of the *Journal's* doctrine. It is a desire for free trade and a foreign market. The lowering of wages in this country would enable our manufacturers to sell at lower prices in foreign markets, and this is what the *Journal* wishes. This is the nib of all foreign trade advocacy and free trade propaganda. The advocates of this theory seem not to realize that every increase of sales



abroad, won by the reduction of wages at home, is at the expense of the welfare, and social standard of living, and, ultimately, of the civilization of our own country. It is a sacrifice of domestic prosperity and progress for the profits of foreign trade to mere exporters. This doctrine is born of eighteenth century ignorance which fails to recognize the economic relation of the laborer's consumption to the capitalist's production. It is essentially the middle class doctrine of the old English economists, which time has exploded. As a theory of economics it is as inadequate to the economic relations of twentieth century conditions as is the hand-loom and the stage coach. As an economic theory, it belongs to the hand-labor era, and has no place in a world of steam, electricity, and modern machinery.

Trade-unions, like corporations, are sometimes in the hands of foolish managers. They sometimes act contrary to the economic principles of production and distribution and thereby injure, instead of helping, their own cause. But this is due to ignorance or bad judgment, which experience will correct. In all their orderly tendency to obtain higher wages and better social conditions, however, they do not injure themselves, the employers, or the community. This tendency is wholesome, progressive, distinctly economic, and ultimately ethical and civilizing. The doctrine that an orderly rise of wages throughout the country is a public injury, or that a general lowering of the wages of a country would be an economic or social benefit is false.

## HOW COLONIES ARE GOVERNED

### DUTCH POSSESSIONS IN THE ORIENT, SEIZED AND ADMINISTERED FOR TRADE

STEPHEN PIERCE DUGGAN, PH. D.

AFTER THE Portuguese had built up their great colonial empire in the East during the sixteenth century, it was their custom to bring all the products of their possessions to Lisbon, and instead of redistributing them themselves to the various ports of Europe, they allowed the Dutch to control that trade. When, therefore, Portugal in 1580 was conquered by Spain, the enemy of the Dutch, the latter, in order to retain their great trade, were compelled to seize the Portuguese possessions in the East; but as they were afraid that the possessions and trade might be taken by rivals unless conducted by a strong organization, the Dutch East India Company was formed in 1602. The charter given by the States General to the company endowed it with a complete monopoly of the trade with the East and with powers of government which were practically sovereign; and from the beginning to the end of its career nearly two hundred years later, the policy pursued by the company was of the simplest nature, viz.: commercial gain.

The Dutch did not go to the East to spread religion, nor to conquer territory, but to make money, and they adopted whatever measures they thought were necessary to attain that end. But the jealous exclusion of foreigners created trouble with England, developed smuggling on an immense scale, and caused corruption among the officials. Affairs were conducted according to a complicated routine and in a most wasteful and extravagant manner. Though the company was insolvent as early as 1736, it systematically deceived the

public by falsifying the accounts sent from the East, so that it was only at the close of the century that the true condition of affairs became known. In 1798 the company was abolished and the State assumed control of its territories, its sources of income and its debts which amounted to over \$50,000,000.<sup>1</sup> Before the Dutch government could accomplish any real reforms in its possessions, Napoleon reduced the Netherlands to the position of a vassal state to his empire. The British were determined that the Dutch colonies should not become French also and they therefore assumed control of nearly all the Dutch possessions. When, however, Napoleon had been overthrown and the day of general settlement arrived in 1814, the British kept the places of greatest strategic value, viz.: Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope, returning Netherlands India, and the Dutch West Indies. Since that time the Dutch have acquired Sumatra and several other islands, and today their colonial empire includes in the East, Java, Sumatra, Celebes, the Moluccas, a large part of Borneo and New Guinea, and the remaining smaller islands of the Java Archipelago; and in the West the Dutch West Indies, including Guiana and Curaçao. This empire covers an area of 783,000 square miles and contains a population of 36,000,000, of which 28,000,000 are in Java.<sup>2</sup> The Netherlands thus rank third among the colonial nations of our day. As the Dutch have devoted themselves particularly to their East-Indian possessions and especially to Java, the lessons to be drawn from their colonial experience will be obtained best by studying their work in that island.

In 1816 the Dutch found their restored possessions in

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<sup>1</sup>The best summary of Dutch colonization is found in Lucas, *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, Vol. I, Chap. VI. A fuller account is given in Morris, *History of Colonization*, Vol. I, Chaps. VII, VIII, IX.

<sup>2</sup>*Statesman's Year Book* for 1903, p. 914.



a lamentable condition economically and socially. Sir Stamford Raffles, the governor-general during the British occupation, had upset the native political and economic organization in attempting to introduce western principles, producing confusion instead. The treasury was empty and there was an annual deficit. In 1825 there broke out the rebellion of Dipa Negara which devastated central Java for five years. Trade was at a standstill and Java bid fair to become a heavy burden to the mother country. At this juncture Gen. Van den Bosch was sent out as governor-general, and in 1830 introduced the celebrated Culture System, which totally changed the condition of things, the budget thereafter showing a handsome annual surplus instead of a deficit. Ever since 1861, when J. H. B. Money wrote his celebrated work on Java, the Culture System has been the object of adulation upon the part of English writers who usually have copied what he said.<sup>3</sup> Now considering that the Culture System was introduced solely as a fiscal measure to relieve the financial burdens of the home government after the Belgian Revolution of 1830, one might hesitate to accept the roseate description of Money for the actual condition of affairs. The recent work of Prof. Clive Day of Yale proves this hesitancy to be well-founded. He shows the Culture System to have been one of involuntary slavery and characterized by all the evils of a government industry.<sup>4</sup>

The native institutions of Java placed the absolute owner-

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<sup>3</sup>Money, *Java, or How to Manage a Colony*, 2 vols., 1861. Money obtained his information as to the working of the culture system almost exclusively from Dutch officials while on a pleasure trip in Java. His view of the Culture System has nevertheless been adopted by such writers are Worsford, *A Trip to Java*, 1893, Chap. VIII. Scidmore, *Java*, 1898, Chap. IX. Ireland, *Tropical Colonization*, 1899, Chap. VI.

<sup>4</sup>Prof. Day's book, *The Dutch in Java*, Macmillan, 1904, is without exception the best on the subject in English. It is based almost exclusively on original Dutch documents. Chaps. VII, VIII, IX, on the Culture System, are particularly clarifying.

ship of the soil in the native prince and consequently in his successor to the sovereignty, the Dutch government. The peasantry received allotments of land for cultivation returning a portion of the crop, usually two-fifths, as rent to the prince. Besides this there existed the *corvée*, i. e., the peasant gave a portion of his days, generally one-fifth, to work on the land of the prince for nothing. Van den Bosch, when he introduced the Culture System, adapted this native organization to his scheme for raising money for the Dutch treasury. Instead of returning two-fifths of his crop as rent, the peasant was to cultivate on one-fifth of his land those crops demanded by the government and to yield one day out of every seven to the government culture. This was to enable the government to grow crops like coffee, sugar, and indigo, which would have a profitable market in Europe, the native, when left to himself, seldom raising anything but rice. The government was to bear the loss of a crop, if the loss was not due to the carelessness of the native. In principle, this was very fine; in practise, the worst abuses arose. The officials in charge of the culture, native and Dutch alike, not only received a percentage on the value of the crop grown in their districts, but were soon made to feel that their positions depended upon success. Soon the native instead of being compelled to yield one-fifth of his land to the forced culture of crops which he neither understood nor wanted, had to give up one-third and often one-half. Instead of working one-seventh of his time on the government culture, there was soon no limit put to the time demanded. Whatever losses were incurred, and these were many, due to the effort of the Dutch to grow crops unsuited to the soil, had to be made good by the native. The spirit of greed permeated the whole system and the welfare of the native was entirely lost to view. Famine and pestilence were frequent because the people were not allowed to raise

rice enough. But the Dutch treasury profited immensely and in the period 1840-1870, it received from Java over \$300,000,000 in profit. Until the Revolution of 1848, the Dutch colonies were under the absolute control of the King. No reports were submitted to the States General, the press in Java was muzzled, and foreigners, even cursory visitors were viewed with jealousy and suspicion. The revolution brought the colonies to a certain extent under the control of the Chambers which enacted the colonial constitution of 1854, the *Regeerings Reglement*, in a liberal spirit. But it was not until Edouard Dekkar wrote in 1857 his *Max Havelar*, the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of Java, that the Dutch people awoke to the need of reform. The struggle against the culture system was bitterly contested in the Dutch Parliament until the passage of the Agrarian Act of 1870 brought it to a close. Though that statute did not abolish the culture system, its gradual extinction was a necessary consequence because the act had for its direct aims the safeguarding of the natives' rights and the encouragement of the enterprise of European individuals.

The culture system was the worst possible introduction to a system of free labor, because it developed no wants in the native, the latter working in fear of punishment not in the hope of reward. Naturally, for a long time after the relaxation of forced culture, the European employer found difficulty in getting the native to work more than was necessary for mere subsistence. The employers, therefore, resort to the device of offering a large part of the wages for any period in advance, and as the native is a thriftless fellow, he usually accepts. Then he is held to labor until he works out the debt. This would result in the system of credit bondage which prevailed in Java before the arrival of the Dutch, did not the government protect the laborer by carefully supervising every contract, which must be recorded



and which is not allowed to run more than five years. Unfortunately, the native frequently breaks his contract for no reason at all. To prevent this, the colonial government passed an ordinance which provided that breach of labor contract should be punished by a fine, which, if not paid in money, would have to be worked out on public works. This proved very effective, but the doctrinaires at home fearing slavery in another form modified it in a manner to destroy much of its efficiency. Nor is it merely by supervising labor contracts that the government protects the native. Though it has exclusive title to property in the land, it has left the natives in hereditary possession. But there is an absolute prohibition on the transfer of rights from native to foreigner. The latter can only lease for short terms lands cultivated by the natives, and the lease is then subjected to many restrictions. In fact, planters complain loudly of the interference of the government in their relations with the natives. But experience proves this interference to be necessary, and neither planters nor natives have been so prosperous as in recent years.<sup>5</sup>

The revenues formerly yielded by the culture system have been replaced by the returns from the various forms of European taxation that have been gradually introduced. The revenue today is obtained (a) from the land-tax; (b) the poll-tax; (c) the personal tax on non-natives; (d) the income tax on natives and foreigners; (e) the customs duties, both import and export; (f) the excise on spirits; (g) the opium and gambling monopolies; (h) the stamp-tax; (i) the sale of salt, a government monopoly; (j) the coffee culture, the last remnant of the culture system, gradually approaching extinction; (k) receipts from government railways. The revenue from these sources, about \$60,000,000 a year almost meets the expenditures and would

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<sup>5</sup>Day, *The Dutch in Java*, Chap. X.

greatly exceed them but for two causes. Since the abolition of the culture system, immense public works, railways, public roads, harbor improvements, and public buildings, all of which were almost wholly neglected during the previous period have been undertaken by the government at great expense. Even all this might have been met and a surplus maintained but for the Achinese war in northern Sumatra, which broke out in 1873 and has lasted ever since costing hundreds of millions of guilders, which have come out of the treasury of Netherlands India. But it is probably only a matter of a short time when the Dutch will reap the reward of their efforts for public improvements, and the mother country once more receive a surplus which will not have been wrung from her dependents.

The aim of the Dutch is to give good government to the natives, not to prepare them for self-government. Another striking instance of their care for the interests of the natives is shown in their treatment of the Chinese. There are in all Netherlands India about 500,000 Chinese, and the half of these in Java differ essentially from those in the other islands. Because of the dense population in Java, Chinese coolie labor is unnecessary and would be unprofitable. The Chinese, therefore, found there, are either skilled workmen, traders, or merchants. Nearly all the petty trade and a big percentage of the large trade are in their hands. But the simple-minded Javanese is no match for the wily Chinaman, who soon through trade gets the native, body and soul, in his clutches. The result has been that, in order to prevent the exploitation of the natives, the government has been compelled to restrict the Chinese entirely to the quarters of the towns assigned to them and to forbid their going into the country at all except by special permit. The income tax paid by Chinamen is also twice as great as that paid by Europeans. A very different policy is followed in Sumatra.

The population there is scant and to a great extent savage. To carry on the mining industry, the plantations at Deli, and to open up the country generally, contract coolie labor was absolutely necessary. But the government carefully supervises the contracts and protects the Chinaman in all his rights of food, shelter, medical attendance, and pay. Believing that the Chinaman will use opium and will gamble anyhow, the government controls both and obtains an annual revenue of about \$8,000,000 from them. It is severely criticized for this action, although it is along the lines of its general policy.<sup>6</sup>

During the period of the culture system little attempt was made to educate the natives of even the higher classes, and their use of the Dutch language was discouraged. The grant for education has quadrupled since 1870, that for the children of the Europeans and Eurasians, the mixed Europeans and natives, being decidedly liberal. Though the same can not be said for the education of the mass of the natives, a beginning has been made. Since 1893, three hundred primary, thirty grammar, and several normal schools for the training of teachers have been established, though the government favors industrial education most. In the education of the natives of the higher classes greater progress has been made, the feeling being that they should be prepared for the responsible positions they fill in the government. Five schools have been established for the training of the sons of chiefs, who are taught, besides the common school subjects, the Dutch language, the elements of jurisprudence and political economy, public and administrative law of Netherlands India, surveying, and drawing. The disposition of the government toward education is

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<sup>6</sup>See the admirable Report on English and Dutch Colonies in the Orient by Prof. Jenks, Special Commissioner of the United States. It is issued by the Insular Department.



much more liberal than formerly, but it must be admitted, that, compared to what the United States has accomplished in the Philippines, the Dutch have done very little. In the past the Dutch have been decidedly opposed to missionary work among the natives, who are Muhammadans, and today though the missionaries are not excluded, they are not welcomed. They can engage in their work only by special permission, and the territory in which they can labor and the nature of their work are distinctly prescribed. Though the Dutch are not hostile to religion, they do not intend to have religious agitation add to the burdens of government. For the same reason they discourage pilgrimages to Mekka on the part of the natives, fearing fanaticism as a result. The Muhammadanism of the native sits very lightly upon him, but probably no more lightly than the Christianity of the Dutch upon themselves. In fact, the Dutch are pursuing a thoroughly materialistic policy in Java. This is nowhere better illustrated than in the treatment of the army. In order to prevent venereal diseases, which reduce the vitality of the men, the government encourages the soldiers to keep concubines, and this is done by many of the administrative officials also. The government makes room for the concubines and their children in the barracks and partly provides for them. When the soldier's term of service is up and he returns to Holland, he can either leave the concubine and children or give them his name, and then they are enrolled among the Europeans. This is certainly a very direct way of attaining the end in view, but it has brought its reward. Of the 75,000 Europeans in Java, the majority are these Eurasians, who feel themselves superior to the natives, but yet outcast from the Europeans. Large numbers of them hold minor government positions, many have become fairly educated and ambitious, and not seeing much prospect for them in

the future, are discontented. The Dutch themselves fear that these Eurasians are rapidly becoming a factor which will prove dangerous to the government.<sup>7</sup>

The government of Netherlands India may be divided into three parts: The home government at The Hague, the central colonial government at Batavia, and the provincial administration. Legislation for the colonies can be made by the Dutch Parliament, by the decree of the king, and by ordinance of the governor-general. As a matter of fact, Parliament interferes but little in legislation, confining its control over the colonies to the finances, the Chambers, according to the Regeerings Regulation of 1754, fixing the budget for India. This in itself is unfortunate, for the members of Parliament are elected to consider the interests of the Netherlands and are usually ignorant of affairs in the colonies. The most powerful personage in the home government is the colonial minister, who decides on all the royal decrees and appoints all the colonial officials. The most remarkable feature of Dutch colonial government is the almost absolute power of the governor-general. He represents the royal authority, is responsible for the whole administration, and has absolutely no check upon him in India, being controlled only by the home government. Until recent years that control was practically nil, but with the development of steam navigation and the telegraphic cable, it has grown somewhat closer. The governor-general is assisted by a Council of Five appointed by the crown to which he must submit his legislation, but if the Council differs with him on its advisability, he can nevertheless put it in force subject to the approval of the home government.

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<sup>7</sup>See the article, *Lessons from Dutch Colonization*, by Prof. Jenks in the *International Quarterly* for 1903. This is a splendid survey of the subject and gives much information not contained in his report as special commissioner.

In executive matters and administration, the Council in no way controls him. The administration is carried on by means of five departments, finance, justice, interior, public works, education and trade, but the directors of them are appointed by the governor-general and are wholly subject to him, and their subordinates in the departments are directly responsible to him, not to them. The general secretariat, the clerical force which has grown up around the governor-general, is gradually assuming an important place in the central administration in Java.

In The Hague and at Batavia, the Dutch have to do work which is essentially European. The crucial test of ability in colonial government in the East is found in the manner of treatment of the provincial administration, where the European comes in contact with the native institutions, controlled by custom and tradition. No nation has succeeded in this respect so well as the Dutch. The provincial administration has a double hierarchy of officials, one Dutch, the other native; the Dutch everywhere controlling and supervising, the native everywhere performing the actual administration. But the Dutch control is so carefully veiled, that the peasant today believes that he is governed by his native rulers. The island is divided into twenty-two residencies, over each of which is placed a Dutch resident, who has a great multiplicity of functions, legislative, judicial, administrative, fiscal, and in some cases, especially in the Outer Possessions, political and diplomatic. As in Java, each resident governs more than 1,000,000 people, the residency is divided up into districts over which is placed an assistant resident who performs nearly all the functions of a resident on a smaller scale except that of legislation, but whose particular duty is to control the regent, the highest official of the native administration. Under the assistant resident are the *Contrôleurs*, the "nerves and sinews" of the admin-



istration, who are not supposed to have independent authority, but who, because of their daily contact with the native officials, are most competent to deal with local affairs and in consequence exercise a great and independent influence. According to the Regeerings Reglement the natives are to be left as far as possible to the immediate rule of their own native authorities, and the Dutch have made themselves adepts in utilizing native institutions. Every residency is divided into several regencies each of which generally corresponds to one of the ancient petty states and over each of which is placed a regent, a direct descendant of one of the old native rulers. Though the regent has lost all the substance of authority, he retains all the pomp and dignity and receives a handsome allowance from the Dutch government. As before mentioned, he is under the supervision of an assistant resident who occupies the relation towards him of the "eldest brother." Among the natives, in the absence of the father, the eldest brother is entitled to the obedience and respect of the whole family. Of course, every regent understands that he holds his position only so long as he abides by the advice of his "eldest brother." Each regency is divided into districts over which is placed a native "Wedana" who carries out the commands of the regent, for the Dutch in order to maintain the regent in his dignity, transmit all regulations through him. The Wedanas come in close contact with the Dutch *Contrôleurs* who influence their administration to a great extent. The villages are left to the administration of their native officials who apportion the land-tax among the families.<sup>8</sup>

The Dutch government in Java is thus an autocratic

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<sup>8</sup>A brief but excellent description of the Dutch administration in Java is found in Leclerq, *Un Séjour dans l'Ile de Java*, Chap. XXV; Day, *The Dutch in Java*, Chap. XII; and Ireland, *Tropical Colonization*, Chap. VI.

centralization, but a sane one. Though the governor-general has almost absolute power over the entire administration, he does not use it to interfere with the discretion of his provincial subordinates, who are supposed to conform their actions to local needs. The entire provincial administration is carried on in the native tongue. This is true also of the courts, justice being meted out according to the customary law by native officials in all the minor courts, and the Dutch judges being assisted by native assessors in the higher courts. Dutch law controls the relations of Europeans. The Dutch have been successful in their administration, chiefly for two reasons: First, they have avoided any measures that would lead to the disintegration of native society and institutions. Second, they have maintained a high standard of ability and character among the officials. Selections are made on grounds of training and fitness only. The young Dutchman desirous of entering the service, must pass examinations in the history, geography, and ethnology of the Dutch East Indies, in the Malay and Javanese languages, and in the political and social institutions of the natives. If he enters the magistracy, he must in addition be a Doctor of Laws of a Dutch university and pass examinations in colonial law, Mussulman law, and customary local law. An administrative official enters the service at its lowest rank and is promoted according to merit. At the end of twenty years he may retire on a pension equal to one-fourth of the highest salary that he has received.<sup>9</sup> The service is not without complaint, however. Many officials, especially the *Contrôleurs* are overworked. Promotion is slow, few ever reaching a place beyond that of assistant resident, and though the salaries of the higher officials are generous, those for the lower are inadequate, for even when an assis-

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<sup>9</sup>Lessons from the Recent History of European Dependencies, Report of American Historical Association for 1898.

tant resident wishes to retire to Holland at the end of twenty years' service, his pension of about \$720 hardly enables him to live up to his position. However, the system of administration is subject to constant revision to meet the demands made upon it, and reform may be looked for in these directions.

The colonial government of the Dutch is by no means faultless. The autocratic centralization causes a great many details to be settled at Batavia unnecessarily, and the European settlers in the large cities might be entrusted with more influence in the control of affairs. To the American mind, the attitude of the Dutch on some questions of religion and morals is repugnant, and education has not been sufficiently fostered. But the Dutch have escaped many of the evils apparent in the policies of other colonial nations, and comparatively speaking, their administration must be voted a success. It is interesting to Americans to know that the Dutch welcome them to the East. After the enterprising Japanese occupied Formosa in 1896, the Dutch feared they would seize the Philippines from weak Spain, and then cast covetous eyes upon Netherlands India, the natives of which bear a strong similarity to them in many respects.



## THE INSULATION OF CONTINENTS

JOSEPH SOHN

THE PRACTICAL domination of Panamá by the United States—for this is what the establishment of an independent little republic at the southern extremity of our continent really means—calls attention to a phase of “Anglo-Saxon” expansion vaster in its import than is generally supposed.

In an article, published in GUNTON'S MAGAZINE several years ago, the author called attention to the principle of immediate activity as characteristic of the “Anglo-Saxon” race, stating that this principle was originally developed by the successive conflicts between equally powerful races within a restricted arena, i. e., upon an island. Subsequently, in “The Empire of Islands” (*Forum*, December, 1901), the author showed how, at a later period, the predilection for an insular environment affording a guarantee of independence and an opportunity for self-government was exemplified in the selection of British colonial centers at Bermuda, St. Helena, Jamaica, and elsewhere. The present ingenious web of British dominion, based upon the entire geographical configuration of the globe, was afterward shown to have been spun between these islands themselves, and from these to other centers gradually acquired on continents. In our own day, the control of these continental colonies, which have gradually expanded, presents the most serious problem by which Great Britain is confronted. Yet not Great Britain alone. First, by the publication of the Monroe Doctrine, and second, by the virtual establishment of American suzerainty over Panamá, the United States also, although in a somewhat different manner, is brought face to face with a gigantic problem which sooner or later will press for solution: the insulation of entire continents.

The subject resolves itself into two distinct divisions:

(1) the extension of the insular idea as exemplified on the American continents, the chief exponent being the United States; (2) the extension of this idea on other continents of the globe by Great Britain.

#### I. THE INSULATION OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENTS.

The frequent boundary disputes between the English colonies in America survived in the question of "State Rights." In both we have evidence of that fierce exclusiveness and love of independence, which, unable to preserve its insular character geographically, sought to do so politically. The doctrine of state rights is written in broad and unmistakable characters on the pages of our history; and the question of state sovereignty had to be settled by the bloodiest war of modern times. Yet these political islands, these sovereign states, within thirty-four years after the establishment of an independent government, notified the nations of Europe that the entire western hemisphere was to be politically insulated so far as the further establishment of colonies on the American continents by foreign powers was concerned. Never before or since has there been launched so bold a proposition as that embodied in the words: "The American continents . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power." True, this doctrine was not incorporated as an article of faith in our Constitution; it was not a Federal law: it was deeper and stronger than any written law; for it appealed to the primitive, the fundamental instincts of our race. It was the fourth gigantic phase of an evolution, the successive stages of which are marked by mile-stones bearing the several inscriptions: "Island," "State," "State Federation," "Continent."

Thus was the political insulation of the western continents secured. Their geographical insulation by virtue of an interoceanic canal is now to follow; and it was in antici-

pation of this geographical insulation that both Great Britain and Germany have endeavored to secure their foothold in the Caribbean and especially in the northern part of South America, where Great Britain is most strongly entrenched. The British lion never relinquishes his prey, and the boundary disputes between England and Venezuela have continued to the present day. This fact alone demonstrates the tremendous but silent power exerted by the Monroe Doctrine in curtailing the colonial aspirations of Great Britain in South America. We have but to glance at a map of Africa to perceive to what extent the "Anglo-Saxon" principle of insulation has operated there within the past century. Though poorer in islands and maritime inlets than any other continent, it is everywhere *angefressen*, gnawed into, by Great Britain. Now let us in imagination transfer this process to South America to see what that continent would look like to-day had Great Britain not been diverted to Africa and Asia by the Monroe Doctrine.

How far England would have succeeded in penetrating into the South-American continent, it is, of course, impossible to say. That she would have turned the numerous disputes between the various Latin states to her advantage is certain. That she would have come into conflict with other European states is equally probable. Nevertheless, in the light of history, she would have steadily asserted her supremacy. She would have seized the islands and peninsulas at the entrance to important harbors. There are few towns completely insulated on the coast of South America, but there are several of great importance, such as Cartagena, Pará, Rio Grande do Sul, Montevideo (captured but vacated by the British in 1807), which are situated upon slender peninsulas. As regards the entrances to rivers and bays, however, many of these are controlled by islands, of which our British cousin would undoubtedly have availed himself. In addition to Trinidad, which England acquired in 1797, she



would have seized others of the Spanish and Dutch islands so as to strengthen her entire line along the southern shore of the Caribbean; and, after having thus obtained various *points d'appui* near important gateways of commerce, she would have entered her wedges on the continent itself; as, for example, at British Guiana, whence she has endeavored to penetrate into Venezuela. Pernambuco would also have been regarded by her as a most valuable prize: for it is situated at the angle of the continent; as the most easterly point of the western hemisphere, it marks the narrowest part of the Atlantic; and it lies directly on the maritime highway between St. Helena, Ascension, and the West Indies. In spite of the early opposition in England against the retention of the Falklands, she has held on to them, and there can scarcely be any doubt that, despite certain disadvantages existing at that time, she would also have held Montevideo could she have gazed into the future. For here, as in Africa, England would have chosen the narrowest part of the continent for her field of operations.

Thus was it reserved for the American half of the "Anglo-Saxon" race to take the initiative in the insulation of a continent. England, diverted from South America, now turned her attention to Africa and Asia. While seeking to gratify selfish aims in those quarters, she has become the most valuable factor of civilization on the two largest continents of the globe. Thus we perceive how men and nations believe themselves to be agents, whereas they are but instruments.

## II. THE INSULATION OF AFRICA.

To those who survey historical events at long range, the islands and strips of territory acquired by England on the African coast constitute an interesting and most important phenomenon of a process of development as beautiful, harmonious, and unique as any ever observed upon a smaller

scale in the domain of zoology. England, following her fundamental instinct, has been gradually extending a process of insulation upon the vast continent of Africa. To trace this development in detail here is impossible, but, with the aid of chronological information as to settlement, it may be followed upon any good map. Suffice it to point out the aspect of the situation in Africa to-day. The insular idea with Great Britain as the exponent is here exemplified in two ways: (1) by the process, which, if continued, would gradually tend toward the insulation of the continent as a whole; (2) by the detached or insular nature of the British possessions as they have been established upon the face of the continent itself.

(1) As regards strips of territory upon the African coast, Spain possesses one; Italy, two; Portugal, three; Germany, four; France, seven; and England, nine—consisting of colonies, protectorates, and spheres of influence or control. Those of England are distributed at intervals along the entire coast, whereas those of France are confined chiefly to the northwestern portion of the continent. The entire margin of maritime territory thus included within the British jurisdiction is nearly twice as long as that held by France; while the actual extent of coast which could be controlled by her is immeasurably greater, in view of her numerous strategical points commanding the entrance to the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the Gulf of Aden. Nor should it be forgotten that the island of Zanzibar, the principal entrance to German East Africa, is practically British territory, as are Walfisch Bay and all the available islands lining the coast of the German emperor's southwestern possessions. Where nature's stock of islands along the coast is exhausted, England possesses St. Helena—twelve hundred miles from the coast, but the Bermuda of the Southern Atlantic and a powerful naval and strategical base.

But there is also considerable maritime territory which

Great Britain will eventually control, by using the wedge which she can now operate in South Africa, and pushing outward. It is extremely doubtful that the nations which have recently fought so hard for supremacy in the Transvaal will permit the Portuguese "Fafner" to bar their way to the sea. From these facts it becomes plain that Great Britain has already gone far beyond the initial stages of a process whereby Africa may eventually become converted into a gigantic island in the "Anglo-Saxon" sense.

(2) If we picture the map of Africa as a blank or white space, the colonies and protectorates of England assume the form of territorial islands upon it; and this in contradistinction to those of France, whose territory, with the exception of one extremely narrow little strip of land on the eastern coast, consists of a practically uninterrupted chain of possessions in the northwest and west. We have now arrived at a new and most interesting phase in the evolution of the insular idea. Emerson tells us that "Our strength grows out of our weakness." The converse of this statement is true also. That fierce insular spirit of independence, which enables every Briton to hold his foot of ground, wheresoever it may be, against all invaders, and which has scattered the colonies of Great Britain far and wide over the face of the globe, reveals its inherent weakness today upon the continent of Africa. That weakness is lack of compactness. Great Britain is now entering upon the third phase of her development, and is confronted by the gigantic task of converting Africa into a political island by removing the wedges between her insulated claims, and thus bidding defiance to her inherent weakness. Though selfish motives probably entered into it, though the establishment of communication was also involved, the war recently fought in the Transvaal really meant the removal of the most important of these wedges. The result is that England controls today, in the form of a solid block of territory, four-fifths



of colonizable Africa (excepting from this computation the narrow colonizable margin on the Mediterranean, partly controlled by France), which, sooner or later, she will use as a lever to push outward to the coast. This removal of wedges between England's colonies, protectorates, and spheres of influence, will, and must, go on, if the "Anglo-Saxon" race is to be the dominant political factor on the African continent. One principle alone can reign supreme. If, therefore, distintegrating social forces do not change the complexion of nations and greatly modify the trend of history—and it is improbable at best that such changes could be effected before the question of geographical distribution is settled—we shall ultimately hear of the promulgation of a Monroe Doctrine for Africa. It may be decreed by a vast South-African republic, no longer under British rule, and with absolute autonomy, but nevertheless dominated by "Anglo-Saxon" principles; it may be promulgated by Great Britain alone; or it may be launched by Great Britain with the aid of a friendly ally such as Germany—and, in the light of present indications, the last-mentioned will probably be the final solution.

### III. THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE INSULAR AND CONTINENTAL PRINCIPLES.

The "Anglo-Saxon" race, in order to keep its web intact, must therefore control a continent as a central orb or base. North and South America are so controlled; Africa must be; Asia can never be. It is here that the meshes of the British spider will sooner or later be brushed aside by a rude force steadily moving forward as a compact, solid mass in one direction—a force whose impact will eventually be irresistible. The great turning points of history are distinguished by striking antitheses; and never before has a contrast so fundamental, so vast, so far-reaching, been presented as that involved in the coming conflict between the insu-

lar and the continental principles, as exemplified respectively by Great Britain and Russia. On the one hand, we have a race composed of units, each of which desires to be absolutely independent. The members of this race, in their desire for autonomy, prefer to select the smallest divisions of land and to scatter throughout the globe. From each little independent center motives of self-interest induce them to spin threads of intercourse; the fabric spreads; and the laws of necessity gradually evolve a subtle, ingenious, and intricate web-work of dominion, based upon the entire configuration of our planet. We have seen that, even where the orbs or hubs are entire continents, these are not entirely occupied, but are controlled by keen strategy, the demands upon which are constantly increasing. On the other hand, we find a powerful race, repressed, hemmed in on every hand, and nowhere able to find a pathway to the sea. It forms itself into a solid, forceful unit, whose center is the Tsar. The power thus created must act as one body and be dominated by one soul. That soul was incarnated in the great Muscovite rulers under whom the confined Titan struck tremendous blows, with each of which we hear the splash of waves. Ivan the Great should properly be styled "The Tsar of the Arctic;" Ivan the Terrible, "The Tsar of the Caspian;" Peter the Great, "The Tsar of the Baltic;" and Catherine the Great, "The Tsarina of the Euxine" (Black Sea). From a little territory in the vicinity of Moscow, Russia has grown to a domain nearly equal in extent to the whole of North America and Europe (exclusive, of course, of Russia itself). This domain already includes about one-half of Asia and throws its colossal shadow over the rest of that continent—a continent as large as North and South America combined, and containing half the population of the globe. Russia is steadily moving forward in one direction as a mass, here assimilating, there storing up resistance against obstacles, but constantly acquiring greater compact-

ness—a continental avalanche; and the most formidable adversary she will ultimately encounter, is that insular nation whose possessions are so widely scattered and whose greatest weakness is lack of solidarity.

This conflict will affect, not only the destiny of all the nations of Western Europe, but also the United States. The vast territory which the continental colossus will sooner or later control, the millions of men which this foremost representative of absolute imperialism will probably be destined to sway, the enormous extent of coast from which Russian ships may ultimately be sent forth to every portion of the globe—all these startling possibilities are gradually grouping about the logical representative of western civilization, Great Britain, a host of allies. A union with Japan has already been effected; and it is probable that a definite understanding with Germany, as the central nation of Europe and the chief representative of the Triple Alliance, also exists. Nor is it at all unlikely that the United States may some day require the friendly offices of the other Teutonic nations upon the coast of Asia—a circumstance of which they are well aware. There is a game of cards in which each plays for himself until one becomes powerful enough to challenge all the rest. How soon Russia will be in a position to play a "lone hand," it is impossible to foretell. In the East she now has access to the Yellow Sea and to the Sea of Japan. In Western Asia she is seeking an opportunity to push southward to the Persian Gulf, and thence—who can tell?



## BOOK-ADVERTIZING, FROM THE INSIDE

WALTER BARRETT BROWN

CERTAIN contemporary writers have been concerning themselves of late with the subject of modern methods of advertizing literary wares. The general trend of their observations, whether serious or satirical, has been that the current commercial spirit manifest in selling books does not comport with the dignity of the profession of letters. The ethical restrictions which compel the lawyer and the physician to starve until he has achieved reputation sufficient to carry him along are sought to be applied to the sale of literature.

The views of the writers referred to are, however, wholly theoretical. One is a critic of international fame, and the other is a gentleman whose literary accomplishments entitle him to a hearing, yet each reveals a lack of practical experience in the actual work of publishing books. Advertizing, in these days is a science. Is there any more reason why advertizing as applied to books, should remain where it was half a century ago, than that the horse car should not have been displaced by the trolley car?

The old conservative publishing houses that long tried to subsist on tradition, have either had to go to the wall or adopt new methods. The younger publishing houses, with their up-to-date equipment, their enterprising methods and their youthful "push," are today the most prosperous. The art of printing has more than kept pace with other industries. It is all consistent with the development of modern times.

It is a notable fact that the literary man is seldom a good business man. There are, of course, some brilliant exceptions. In this age of specialization, the literary man, par-

ticularly as he represents the publishing house, has little time to devote to other matters. The business man has no opportunity to engage in things literary, beyond the possibilities of the dilettante. Somewhere along the line, therefore, it is necessary that these two should come together. So the publisher is compelled to organize his literary staff as entirely distinct from his business office, yet capable of being worked side by side. To the one the new book is an event of greater or less significance in the literary world; to the other it is a cold commercial proposition, that must be sold for dollars and cents.

Prior to the passage of the international copyright law, it was possible for unscrupulous publishers to make large profits by omitting the very important item of authors' royalties, when those authors happened to have their books published in a foreign land. And with this unfair competition, the American author had little chance. Now that authorship is one of the "protected industries," we have had some wonderful instances of what this country can produce. But as with other crops, the wheat has to be threshed from the chaff.

The physician and the lawyer are not permitted to advertise their services. But then they are at once producers and distributors. Nevertheless, by every "legitimate" means they seek all the publicity they can obtain, whether it be by the conduct of a famous case, or by taking a conspicuous part in some public enterprise. They recognize the value of publicity. Why, then, should not the author seek, by all fair means, to induce the public to read his book? Why should not the publisher—who is not seeking mere reputation, but the wherewithal to keep his expensive printing plant running and indirectly make some margin of profit, avail himself of all honorable means to sell his goods?

Even as in the mass of books published there are good,

bad, and indifferent, so in advertizing methods are there the same variations.

When the article to be advertized is a book or a bicycle, there are certain general principles that underlie the whole science. First, the article to be advertised must be worth selling; and second, the advertizing must be consistent with the article to be sold. Confining ourselves to books, let us look at the application of this rule.

If the reader will think back over the last few years, he will realize that the books that had the largest sales had some distinct merit, whether as in the case of *Ben Hur*, they were widely recognized as masterpieces of literature, or, as with *David Harum*, they struck a sympathetic chord in every heart. In some way they bore distinction apart from their fellows. In fact, where the actual figures are known the sales can be taken as a fair index of their merit, literary or otherwise, as this merit is viewed by the public. There are some exceptions, to be sure; but sooner or later the verdict of the public will be rendered, and it will be final.

But *Ben Hur* and *David Harum* are unusual books. The first impetus of sale was given by advertizing; but for the rest, they made their way entirely on their own qualities, the one to reach somewhat less, and the other many more than a sale of 700,000 copies. Produce another book of equal quality, and these figures will again be reached.

Any book that is good enough to win the favorable report of the professional readers is practically sure of a sale of 1,500 to 2,000 copies. The factory cost of producing a modern novel, a book that sells at retail for \$1.50, on a run of one thousand copies, is about twenty cents; the publisher receives, on an average, eighty-one cents; but out of the remaining sixty-one cents must come royalties, advertizing, office expenses, and incidentals, and lastly if anything is left, profit. A sale of fifteen hundred copies under normal



conditions, enables the publisher to come out even, and generally yields to the author a return of \$150 for his months of labor. Beyond this point, the publisher begins to make a profit, which, of course, was what induced him to attempt the publication of the book; so that, by the time the sales reach 3,000, the house gets a return of \$300 or more. And, despite all the sensational advertizing, so called, not one in ten novels now being published goes beyond these figures.

If the book has no elements of popularity, the most skilful advertizing will not sell it. Last summer, a Western house advertized its leading book by all the modern methods and by some methods that were ultra-modern. Apparently it had an enormous sale. Huge piles of the book were to be seen in all the large department stores. Sensational stories were set afloat of the enormous royalty paid to the author. The book had a comparatively large sale, but not nearly so large as the public was led to think. Those large stacks of books were there for advertizing purposes, and when the book had had its day, they were quietly returned to the publishers. But large as the sales were, the royalty, which made it a matter of felicitation for the author (one whose business instinct by the way had not been overshadowed by his literary qualifications), was large, also, and the publishers barely made both ends of the transaction meet. Notwithstanding the tremendous advertizing, in the final analysis, the book sold only up to the point indicated by its merit.

From the writer's observations, the value of book advertizing is not in "booming" the sales, regardless of the book, but in getting for it all the recognition it deserves. If the book is exceptional, it is sufficient to launch it. In the five years since *David Harum* was first published, less than \$2,000 have been spent in advertizing it. On the other hand, a book by a well-known author, really a first-class novel,

had \$3,000 expended upon it and sold only 3,000 copies. But it was handicapped by a name so scholarly that it sailed over the head of the average reader and was smothered in an avalanche of equally worthy books.

The difficulties attending the advertizing of books are greater than those that attend the advertizing of most other things. Each book presents an entirely different "proposition." The man that has pianos or bicycles to sell can harp upon one string from one year's end to the other. Even the department-store man has a limited list, with constantly recurring seasons. He knows that certain goods are all wool and a yard wide. But with a bookman, no two of his articles are alike; and as to their texture, he has to depend upon information from other sources; he rarely has a chance to read the books he offers.

It is anything but just to condemn modern book-advertizing in general because of the undeniably sensational methods occasionally resorted to. If the principles given above are kept in mind, it will be seen that if the advertizing is unworthy, the book is unworthy; and, as a rule, its buyers are composed of those who can be fooled all the time, with perhaps, a sprinkling of those who can be fooled part of the time. Legitimate advertizing should be worth reading. The prosaic announcements of thirty years ago may have satisfied the readers of thirty years ago; and when it is remembered that there has been a revolution in advertizing itself in that time, there is little doubt that book-advertizing stood in the same relation to general advertizing as it does now. And right there is the crux of the whole question. Those who are complaining of present methods, those who hesitate to depart from their cherished traditions, would keep book-advertizing unchanged, just as it was thirty years ago, forgetting that the world has moved onward. That is why the younger and more progressive houses are prosperous, and, indeed, why the authors whose reputations the older houses

helped to make are flocking to the more youthful ones, leaving the patriarchs still at the old business of "introducing new authors to the reading public." The experienced authors have acquired some business capacity, and realize that the signature of a long-established house on their title page is of little use, if the house is behind the times at its commercial end and does not sell the books.

Reference is made to the fact that Cooper, Irving, Dickens, and Scott would not have countenanced present-day advertizing. Let us not be too sure of that. In their day, ten thousand copies was a large sale. It would be interesting, however, if the statistics were available, to compare the sale while the books were under copyright with the sales when the same books were sold after the copyrights expired. In other words, did the famous writers of a generation ago, make as much money as those of the present day? As a whole, undoubtedly not. One may be asked to think of the vast quantities of Dickens's books that have been sold. But what percentage of profit did Dickens himself get? Is it likely that Dickens or any of the other great authors would have stood on so faint a question of ethics or "etiquette" and sacrificed sales that would be possible under skilful advertizing? The question answers itself.

Sir Gilbert Parker, whose business sense is as keen as his literary sense, estimates the value of his book beforehand and estimates its probable sale. Then he proposes a minimum price and calmly informs his publishers that this number of books must be sold, or they must not expect his next book. Then the publisher lays aside all sentiment and gets down to hard work.

There are unscrupulous methods of selling books, just as there are criminal practises in other lines of industry; but with these, as they are outlawed, we have nothing to do.



## THE INTEREST OF CIVILIZATION IN THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

STANHOPE SAMS

A striking anomaly is presented by the attitude of Western nations in the war between Russia and Japan. Perhaps it is the first time that the sympathy of Christendom has been definitely with a pagan, as against a Christian, people. Christendom was arrayed against the Moors and Arabs, although these Eastern peoples represented a higher type of manhood and a superior civilization. The Moors established and developed in Spain a civilization infinitely superior to that of the Spaniards, and were in fact the founders of the later greatness and eminence of Spain, yet Christian Europe very readily allied itself with the marauding knights and brigands of the peninsula. It was the same when Europe took arms against the magnificent civilization of Muhammadanism.

In these instances, however, there was a religious question. Christianity felt itself threatened. In the present war, although Russia is one of the most devout of Christian nations, and Japan one of the most pagan of "heathen" countries, it is probable that very few think of the war with any religious bias. It is not because Russia is still steeped in the blackest superstition, because the sympathies of Europe would still go out to Spain, which is equally devout and idolatrous. It is not even because Russia has violated the teachings of Jesus in her dealings with Japan and with China. It is because of her political bad faith, and because of the resentment and hatred that her absolutism has aroused. Prince Kropotkin, in an article in the *Speaker* defending the Russian side of the present controversy, admits that Russia's absolutism has inspired hatred all over

the world. It is against this spirit of absolutism, as expressed in such deeds as the murder of the Jews in Kishinev, the outraging of Finland, the wanton slaughter of the Chinese on the Amur, the violation of her solemn pledge to evacuate Manchuria, and the insulting conduct of the recent negotiations in Tōkyō, that the liberal thought of the whole world has protested and rebelled.

It must be confessed, however, that the cordiality and even ardor of the sympathy of Christendom for Japan, notwithstanding the hatred and suspicion of Russia, is very remarkable in view of the fact that Japan is profoundly pagan. For there is no doubt that the Japanese are as pagan as the old Greeks. They have had so many religions that they can afford to receive all with equal courtesy; one more makes no difference. They are not hostile to Christianity, but welcome it; and it takes its place side by side with the cults of Shintō, Buddhism, Confucianism, and agnosticism. Paul found that the vivacious Athenians worshiped all the gods they could create or borrow, and hearing of a mysterious god, they had erected an altar to his worship also. It is so with Japan. She will build altars to all gods and, like Henley, she will "thank whatever gods there be for her unconquerable soul." Christianity with its civilizing and moral uplifting will always be welcome in Japan; but, as Mr. Colquhoun has pointed out, the tendency of the Japanese is toward religious indifferentism, rather than the acceptance of any positive creed.

It is also remarkable that Europe and America should take sides in sentiment with an Oriental as opposed to a Western people. But for once, in the history of modern times, the Asiatic in his clash with the European stands for civilization, enlightenment, and freedom. The Russians, in "protesting" against the promptness of the Japanese attack on Port Arthur, before a formal declaration of war, denounced the Japanese as semibarbarous. Such a charge

from such a source is supremely impudent. It is clear that Japan did not violate international law by her assault on Port Arthur, while it is equally clear that Russia violated international law by the unwarranted beginning of hostilities in the Crimean war, and in the war against Turkey. Not only this, but her conduct of the negotiations with Japan were so contemptuous that in itself it constituted a cause of war and would have justified immediate hostilities.

If it is a question of civilization, there can be no hesitation in choosing between the two countries. Of course, it might depend upon what one considers the highest qualities of civilization. Europeans and Americans consider that modern Western civilization is the highest that has yet existed. This may well be disputed in view of the glory of Athens, where was seated the finest civilization the world may ever see. If civilization means culture, refinement, advanced ideas, morality, and the graces of life, then we must rank the Japanese civilization with the best flower of European culture. If we consider civilization as consisting chiefly in material progress, then there are different kinds and degrees of Western civilization. For instance, Germany would probably be ranked ahead of France, although there is no doubt that the French mind is far more highly developed than the German. England would be considered more civilized than France and Germany, and the United States would be considered more highly civilized than all. It is clear that civilization consists of many things besides material progress; and, in the qualities that the world holds as constituting the best civilization, Japan must rank with the advanced peoples of Europe. On the other hand, Russia is still semi-barbaric, and is the only great nation of Europe that still fosters the principles of feudalism and absolutism. Minister Plehve has asserted that Russian absolutism will be crushed within the next ten years, and Prince Kropotkin agrees with him, but thinks the present war with Japan will serve to



postpone the solution of this great problem. This is not the view taken by persons outside of Russia. Those who have studied the Russian system have no confidence in any movement in Russia that may be powerful enough to stamp out absolutism within so short a time. The general belief seems to be that should Japan defeat Russia the result would tend toward the defeat of absolutism throughout the Russian Empire. It would undoubtedly result in awakening Russians to their lamentably backward condition.

It is not, however, what Russia or Japan have been, but what each now represents, that counts. In other words, in forming an opinion as to the relative advantage to civilization of a Russian or of a Japanese victory, we should have to base it upon a knowledge of the character and tendencies of the two races. The defenders of Russia in this war have assiduously contended that the Russian advance toward the Pacific was not induced by the mere thirst of conquest, but was a necessary development. It has been pointed out that Russia acquired her foothold in the Far East because of the Crimean War, when England and France threatened to attack her Siberian possessions. To guard against such an attack—which was afterward made and repulsed—the Russian governor-general, Muraviov, fortified Petropavlovsk and other positions on the Pacific. Prince Kropotkin has even contended that it would have been better for Russia if some other “civilized” nation had taken possession of Northern Manchuria. This effort to show that Russian aggressions in the Far East were the result of, and are justified by, political necessity, falls to the ground when it is remembered that her seizure of Manchuria was a deliberate aggressive movement and totally unnecessary, although very greatly desired for military and commercial reasons, and that Russia herself voluntarily promised to give back the territory to China. It must also be remembered that Russia entered into a con-

spiracy with Germany and France by which Japan, after her successful war with China in 1894, was compelled to evacuate the Liao-tung peninsula, on which are situated Port Arthur and Dalny, that Russia afterward seized this peninsula, and has held it ever since. It is the holding of this strategic position, a perpetual menace to Japan and China, as well as her tightened grasp on Manchuria, and her constant menace of Korea and China, that has provoked the Japanese to war. These events and the unmasking of these policies are enough to show the aggressive greed of mere territory and the debased character of Russia. From her civilization has nothing to expect. Her triumph could result in nothing but in retarding the advance of civilization.

Japan is new to Western knowledge, and her policies and character are less well known than are those of Russia; but she has done so much since her emergence from feudalism in the middle of the last century, and has been so constantly in the gaze of the world by reason of her splendid deeds in peace and in war, that we have had reasonably full opportunities for studying her. Perhaps no more splendid achievement has been made by any nation of the world than was made by Japan when she deliberately broke the fetters of feudalism and took her position definitely in the ranks of the highest civilization. Other peoples have taken centuries to do what the Japanese accomplished almost at one stroke. Since that time the advance of Japan has been rapid and enlightened. She has adopted institutions, methods, and ideas from the Occident wherever she could engraft them upon her own system. She has developed her industrial and social life to a marvelous degree, and in commerce she has become one of the great powers of the world. Her merchant flag covers far more tonnage than does the American, and she has become the England of the Far East. In war her conduct has not only exemplified the traditional courage of her people, but it has been a lesson to the West

in military skill, endurance, in brilliant daring, and in morality. She treated China with wonderful lenity in 1894, and in the recent expedition against Peking she taught the best troops of Europe, not only how to fight but how to conduct themselves like men in battle and in the demoralization that follows a victory. From such a people civilization can expect much. Their triumph would mean the triumph of the highest ideals. Even Prince Kropotkin admits that Asia would only gain by the spread of Japanese civilization on the continent.

From what we know of the history and character of the Russian and Japanese peoples, what may we infer as the probable results of the triumph of Russia or of Japan? How would either country take advantage of a decisive victory?

It has long been known that both Russia and Japan had covetous eyes upon Korea and the eastern part of Manchuria. To each country the possession of a considerable extent of the Asiatic littoral may be considered a political necessity. Russia desires ice-free ports on the Pacific and, if the continuance of her power in Manchuria is desirable, she also needs these ice-free ports. The possession of Vladivostok is not sufficient to meet her possible requirements, as it is ice-locked for many months of the year. On the other hand, Japan desires territory on the Asiatic shore for the expansion and growth of the Japanese people, who are already overflowing the narrow bounds of their empire. In many portions of Japan the population has a density of from 220 to 480 persons to the square mile. While the thriftiness and frugality of the race has enabled the Japanese to live in comfort and in a high state of civilization in spite of this density of population, the elevation of the standard of living, due to the adoption of Western ideas, and the further increase of the race, make it imperative that more room be had for its growth. This demand for room to grow



represents a much higher necessity than a mere desire on the part of Russia to obtain ice-free ports for hypothetical trade.

If Russia should win in a decisive manner, that is, if she should be able to drive the Japanese out of Korea, or prevent their establishing a foothold in Manchuria or at the mouth of the Amur, it would leave Petersburg with a free hand to inaugurate in Northern Asia and in China any policy that is desirable from the Russian point of view. There seems little doubt that the Russians would immediately annex not only Manchuria but Korea and Mongolia. This would establish Russia in such strength throughout the upper half of Asia as would ensure her success in the long-planned conquest of China, Persia, and India. In the event of her triumph, she would probably march directly upon the Chinese capital. With Japan beaten, there is no other power that has the hardihood to dispute the Russian advance. Even in so remote a portion of the earth as Tibet, with her movements sheltered by hundreds of miles of snow and ice and protected by the most powerful navy the world has ever seen, England cautiously waited until Russia was engaged with Japan before she sent a military expedition to Lhasa. There is little hope that such timid prudence could be stimulated to sufficient courage to oppose the Russian advance on Peking, or to stem a similar advance on Tahrán or Bombay. With the fall of Peking, all China, and probably all continental Asia, would fall under Russian domination. The fate of Japan, in such case, would be indeed deplorable, as the empire would be kept forever within its present bounds with an over-teeming population, crowded and huddled more and more within its restricted limits, and tending to deterioration and rapid decadence.

Should Japan succeed in defeating Russia, the utmost that her arms could accomplish would be the expulsion of the Russians from Manchuria and possibly from the mouth of the Amur and the island of Sakahlin. This island form-

erly belonged to Japan, and is greatly desired by the Japanese for their salmon fisheries. It will almost certainly be taken within the next few weeks by the Japanese navy, but whether it will be permanently held depends upon the issue of the war. The Japanese may also force the Russians back beyond Harbin, although any attempt to extend the theater of war beyond the Manchurian and Korean frontiers, must be extremely hazardous, and would be undertaken, probably, only in the event of decisive and demoralizing victories. In the event of such a triumph, Japan would occupy permanently Korea and the Liao-tung peninsula. Manchuria she would restore to China, guaranteeing it from further aggrandizement by Russia. It might also be found desirable to occupy territory to the north of Korea along the Asiatic coast.

But the great achievement that Japan plans, in the event of her victory, is not the mere extension of her empire on the Asiatic continent, but the elevating influence she would exercise upon the destinies of China and upon the other peoples of the world. Japan regards herself, and all Western countries except Russia so regard her, as a sort of preceptor of China in the methods of modern civilization. It is her aim to train China to be independent, to transform the great immobile mass of 400,000,000 people into a self-respecting and respect-enforcing nation, progressive, enlightened, alert, and a peer among the great powers of the world. The result would be that the yellow race, which the Japanese call the "golden" as distinguished from the white or "silver" race, would be greatly elevated in the scale of civilization. It would no longer be a prey for Christendom; and with such a temptation removed, Christendom may, of necessity, become more Christian. It would not endanger Western civilization by arousing military and aggressive ambitions, but it would unite the yellow race, and develop

Japan, China, and possibly Siam, into powerful and progressive countries.

Civilization could expect from a Russian victory, therefore, nothing but the magnifying of one of its greatest perils—Russian absolutism and superstition. The aggrandizement of no other country in the world would be such a menace to civilization as would be that of Russia. The only peoples the Russians can improve and “civilize” are the savages of the north Asiatic steppes. Every foot of ground conquered by Russia in Europe, and in Central or Eastern Asia, is thereby forced backward into feudalism. This was the case with Poland, and will soon be the case with Finland. The triumph of Russia would mean the triumph of principles that Western Europe abandoned centuries ago.

The Japanese civilization on the other hand is so much higher than the Russian that to establish it in Korea and in portions of Manchuria would be a tremendous gain to the world. It would be a gain to the world also if it could be established throughout Northern Asia to Lake Baikal, although this is hardly to be hoped for. But the influence upon China alone, the training of the Chinese in Japanese civilization, would warrant almost any sacrifice that it costs. The development of Japan, also, is a menace to no other power. Its aims are peaceful, and commerce, trade, and industrial advancement will follow wherever the Japanese flag is planted. The Japanese empire would become one of the great commercial powers of the world. It would also be one of the most progressive and enlightened of countries, and its influence in the Orient in the interest of an ultimately higher civilization would be invaluable. It is not to be wondered at that, with such possibilities, the sympathy of the civilized world is with Japan in this great conflict.



## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

THE BUNGLING incompetency of the Russian navy is another illustration of the fact that industrial crudeness and political superstition are sure signs of military and national weakness. Numbers do not necessarily mean strength. The lack of industrial diversification, crude industries, and hand-labor always imply ignorance, superstition, and weakness. China and Russia are monumental illustrations of this fact. They have the greatest populations and the most absolute authority, and yet are the greatest monuments of national weakness.

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JUDGE PARKER may be permitted to forget the free silver issue, but can he be nominated without being a "trust buster" and a tariff reformer? If he is going to smash the tariff and "bust" corporations, wherein will he be an improvement over Roosevelt? What the nation wants today is business stability, and it wants a president that can be relied upon not to be a business disturber. If Judge Parker does not fill the bill, there is no hope for him; and if he, or any other man who is nominated, shall thoroughly measure up to that standard, his chances of election would be very good, for, it is such a man the people want for president. It is more important that he be sound and sensible on a few vital things, than that he be either a Republican or a Democrat. To the nation today, business stability is more important than party ascendancy.

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IT IS announced, on the authority of the *Boston Advertiser*, that Mr. Andrew Carnegie has volunteered to finance President Roosevelt's campaign to the extent of a million dollars, if necessary. This ought to put Mr. Roosevelt at ease so far as legitimate funds are concerned. But could he afford to be the candidate of Andrew Carnegie? Can the Republican party afford to be a one man party? If liberal

contributors to the campaign fund can direct the appointment of diplomatic officials, cabinet officers, and first class postmasters, what could not Mr. Carnegie do, if he paid the whole bill?

That would never do. Mr. Roosevelt might stand it, but the Republican party could not survive such an ordeal. Another election would complete Mr. Roosevelt's political career, but the Republican party has a future. To let one millionaire furnish the entire campaign fund for any party, would be virtually to write its death warrant.

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IN ADVOCATING the repeal of the duty on pulp, the Philadelphia *Record* says "the repeal of the paper duties might be hailed with pleasure by all friends of tariff reform, as a forerunner of the removal of still more barbarous duties on wool and woollens and many other necessities and comforts of the American people."

Is this what they call conservative policy? It is just such "conservatism" as this, that makes the real friends of American industry distrust the Democrats in any dealings with the tariff. When they ask for the repeal of a special schedule, which it might be well to repeal, they always have an ulterior motive. The disruption of the tariff system, and not the reform of unreasonable schedules is their real purpose.

The American people will not knowingly stand any such fooling with the tariff. Such tariff reformers as the *Record* are as dangerous to the business interests of the nation as are Bryan and Hearst, and are no more to be trusted on important national questions.

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THE MCCALL Committee, which was appointed to investigate the charges intimated by Assistant Postmaster-general Bristow, that congressmen were trading in post office appointments, has made its report, and gives the lie to

Mr. Bristow. The appointment of Representative McCall as chairman of the committee is a guarantee that this is not a whitewash. Mr. McCall is one of the sterling men in Congress who never uses a whitewash brush.

These charges by intimation, made by Mr. Bristow, are in keeping with the reckless spirit of much that is being done in administration circles. When the spirit of lawlessness is exhibited by the head, it is very apt to percolate down to the inferiors. Mr. Bristow appears to have imagined that he would grow in favor with his superiors in proportion as he was sensational in his charges. Of course the report of the McCall Committee will not please the chronic fault-finders like the *New York Times*, and the *Evening Post*, but it will do something to sustain the reputation of Congress against mere loose insinuations of a sensational official.

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THE SO-CALLED conservative element in the Democratic party can hardly complain that Mr. Bryan should want to know what its candidate stands for. If Mr. Bryan and his friends are expected to support Judge Parker in the St. Louis convention they surely have a right to know what are the Judge's views on certain questions in which they are most deeply interested. Mr. Bryan is surely right in saying that, "Any man who is not in a position to let the people know where he stands on vital matters, has no right to be a candidate for the presidency."

To expect two-thirds of the party to accept the candidate of one-third, or perhaps, one-fifth, without knowing his position on leading party issues is surely exceptional. If Judge Parker should answer satisfactorily to Mr. Bryan all the questions Mr. Bryan would put to him, he might get the nomination, but he should surely be beaten at the polls. If he refuses to answer Mr. Bryan's questions, it might improve his chances at the polls if he could get the nomination. But, can he get it? The St. Louis convention is



evidently going to be a case of the tail wagging the dog, or of the dog being killed.

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THE NEW YORK *Evening Post* is trying its best to induce the importers to enter a vigorous campaign for their protection, which, it says, "must come from low instead of high duties." If a man "is in the foreign trade," says the *Post*, "his interests all lie in the direction of increasing the imports of the country; a high tariff is of a necessity a grievance to him." Of course it is. Anything that promotes domestic manufacture is a grievance to him, because he wants to supply the American people with foreign goods. The importers care nothing about the industrial development of the country. All they care about is selling goods that are made abroad. They are the least patriotic persons in this country. Their interests and their influence are generally arrayed against any policy in the interest of domestic industry.

It is true protection is too often inspired by political considerations, and sometimes by personal interests; yet with all its defects, its purpose is to aid and encourage everything that makes for the development of the industrial welfare of the country. That is patriotism, even if it be sometimes misguided. Any policy that would give foreign trade preference over domestic, is definitely unpatriotic, and is entitled to no special consideration from the government.

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THE WASHINGTON *Star*, and some other papers of conspicuous "regularity," are rejoicing loudly because the Supreme Court decision in the Merger case did not cause a panic in Wall Street, and because the day after the decision was handed down stocks actually rose a few points. This leads the loyal ones to exclaim "it has done no harm."

True, it has done no harm, because it has done nothing. The result was discounted long before it came. Expecting that the decision would be with the Administration, steps

had been taken to accomplish by other means the result that would have been secured through the merger. The merger really proposed to do nothing but give legal form to what had already been put into practice. In defeating the legalization of this corporation, the Administration and the Court have simply compelled the corporations to seek other methods of accomplishing their ends, and they are doing it.

This arbitrary interference with industry will succeed in doing no harm only if it does nothing. It has served the purpose of a political play to the galleries; and it did not create a panic only because of the good sense and astuteness of the industrial managers, who drew its fangs by anticipating it with other methods. It is the corporations, and not the Administration, that saved the country from a panic.

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IN A RECENT editorial on "breeders of anarchy," the New York *Evening Post* discourses on the decision of the Supreme Court against the coal-carrying roads, and says:

The thing that sets social passions in a flame today is not that envious spirit which has always existed in the unfortunate and unthinking, but a new resentment born of the belief that great corporations subvert the law to their own profit, and that equal opportunities and equal rights no longer exist for all citizens. Now that is a most dangerous impression to fix in men's minds. It produces more anarchists in a week than the teachings of all your Goldmans and Turners could in years.

All this is very true and there is probably no single publication in this country, outside of the Hearst journals, which does more to fix this "dangerous impression" in men's minds than does the *Post*. The very editorial of which this is a part is weighted with material tending to fix this "dangerous impression." The *Post* has almost lost the capacity to speak of the large business enterprises in this country in any other than a doubtful tone. If their products happen to come under protection it makes a business of trying to fix the

"dangerous impression" in the minds of American citizens that they are pampered favorites, fattening on the spoil of the poor. Everything that the Hearst papers say in red letters, except the advocacy of socialism, the *Post* enforces in its cynical criticism. Any true classification of the "Breeder of Anarchy" will put the *Post* and Hearst in the same column.

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IN EXECUTIVE usurpation, Bourke Cockran found a theme worthy of his eloquence. There has never been a time since the period of loose construction began, when the executive so frequently and so boldly encroached upon the representative departments of government, as during the present administration. By the use of threats for special sessions, and the withholding of patronage, the President has practically coerced Congress in several matters of vital importance. As the New York *Evening Post* pointedly observes:

The President has effectively nullified the prerogatives conferred by the Constitution upon Congress. He has acted in these matters very much as if he were defying his opponents to impeach him, but he seems to have come out of each encounter stronger and more lawless in temper than ever.

In much the same way, last year, the executive solved the currency question by decreeing what should and what should not be surplus reserves—a matter down to that time not dreamed to be anything but legislative. In fact, during this administration, construing out of existing law or treaty permission to do something which it never contemplated, has come to be a regular means of overriding the difficulties presented by the constitutional division of powers. All this is, of course, the baldest sort of usurpation.

In calling attention to this particular nullification of popular rights, and arousing the House of Representatives to a sense of its responsibility in protecting its constitutional rights and functions against usurpation, Bourke Cockran has rendered a real public service. If it results in the House



firmly asserting its rights, Mr. Cockran's return to Congress will prove a national benefit.

Should the Democrats make executive usurpation a campaign issue, they will have abundant material to sustain it, and it will have the peculiar advantage of putting the Administration advocates severely on the defensive.

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THE WASHINGTON *Post* quotes the *American Economist* as follows:

We have now had absolutely free coal for more than a year, the duty on bituminous having been taken off in January, 1903, and yet bituminous coal is higher today than it was before the duty was removed. Will the free-traders please tell us who has been benefited by the removal of the duty on bituminous coal?

The *Post* answers this question as below:

The *Post*, although not a free-trader, will venture to answer that question by asking another. Who has been hurt by that operation? If soft coal is higher today than it was before the duty was taken off, who has any grievance? And why is the organ of the standpatters disturbed?

If this is the best the Washington *Post* can do on the tariff, it surely needs some help. The *Post* should not need to be told that the tariff on bituminous coal is not a protective, but a purely revenue, tariff. It is one of the many cases where the foreigners paid the duty; hence it is a net contribution to the national treasury from the profits of the foreign coal producers, for the privilege of selling in our market. This is a good enough reason for keeping the duty on coal. Every such duty makes it less necessary to levy taxes where they have to be paid by domestic consumption. The duty was taken off bituminous coal during the coal strike, to appease the foolish clamor of tariff reformers like the *Post*, who insisted that it increased the price of coal in this country. The only result was to increase the profits of Nova Scotia coal producers at our expense.

## QUESTION BOX

### The President and Good and Bad Trusts

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I would like to have you elucidate Mr. Roosevelt's plan for differentiating good and bad trusts, and how bad trusts are to be controlled. It is singular that he has not, in all his talking and writing, given to the country this information. Help him out, and tell us how he is going to differentiate? And this done, how will he restrain the bad trusts?

C. H.

This question should be addressed to the President himself. It would be very difficult for anyone else to give his "plan" for differentiating good and bad trusts. The recent decision of the Supreme Court thoroughly fails to make any distinction. The decision, which was taken to the Supreme Court on appeal and confirmed by the recent opinion, definitely said that the methods and purposes and action of the trusts made no real difference. If they had the power to restrict trade or restrict competition they were guilty of having done so. The President has said nothing that indicates he has any clear ideas on the subject. From the point of view of sound economic principle and good sense, no trust or corporation is bad that does not work evil. It was because the recent opinion failed to make this distinction that Justice White and the other three judges dissented on the ground that such a decision was contrary to the principles of justice and of personal liberty.

There is no question upon which the President has taken a stand, and as to which he seems so indefinite and utterly indiscriminating, as the question of trusts. Nothing a President has done in many years has seemed quite so much like performing for popular applause as has President Roosevelt's action on this subject. In his speeches he says he does not want to injure legitimate corporations, yet he has invoked the decision of the Supreme Court, which, if thor-

oughly carried out, would disrupt all the best and strongest concerns in the country; and having got this decision, he shows no signs of pressing it to its logical conclusion. It is safe to say that he would not dare do anything of the kind. If he should enforce the law according to this decision from now until November, he would be the worst defeated man that ever ran for President. It is more than probable that nothing more will be heard from him on this subject until after the election.

It is very doubtful if anything more than has been accomplished was ever seriously intended. There is a way to differentiate good and bad trusts, and it was pointed out by the dissenting opinions written by Justice Brewer and Justice White, namely, that good trusts are those that develop industry without violating the rights of other people, and bad trusts are those that use their power for the persecution of competitors to the injury of the public. But this does not appear to represent either the majority opinion of the Supreme Court or the purpose of President Roosevelt.

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### Federal Regulation of Trusts

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Will you kindly answer the following questions:

1. Do you think that federal regulation is the wisest course to pursue at present?

2. Do you think that any of the following methods of regulation would be on the whole for our best interests? If not, why not?

(a) National incorporation of trusts.

(b) A law prohibiting them to sell cheaper in one place than another, and to give rebates to those who deal with them exclusively.

(c) Taxation of capitalization or earnings.

3. Do you not think that removal of special favors, such as railway discriminations, can be accomplished with less difficulty than through federal regulation? Would it not be more effective in removing any monopoly power of the trusts? At any rate, should it not be given a trial first?

WM. E. L.

Bowdoin College, April 6.



Federal regulation is very likely to be Federal meddling in which politics would exercise too much influence. National incorporation of trusts would be very much better. Whatever restrictions might be necessary to govern corporations could be put into the charter, so as to bring them directly under the government as national banks are.

A law prohibiting corporations from selling goods cheaper in one place than in another would be well enough if it could be reasonably interpreted. But, in view of the recent decision of the Supreme Court, that is very doubtful. Goods are always sold cheaper in one place than another. This is true of all countries and of all industries. Under such a law, properly interpreted, the question would be as to the motive for selling lower in one place than in another. If the underselling was done in disregard of all legitimate cost and solely to kill a competitor, that would clearly be an injustice. But if such a law was interpreted in the same spirit as that which controlled the Merger decision, no corporation that undersold a competitor would be judged criminal.

Special favors should be prevented and all discrimination should be prohibited, especially in matters of transportation and with regard to all public servants. The wisest policy to pursue would be simply to remove all legal and political advantages and let competition determine the position of competitors throughout the business field. The idea that inequality in business can be regulated by law is a delusion. That can be done only by government ownership of industries and the practical arrest of progress. If industrial progress is to continue there must be freedom of enterprise. Wherever freedom and progress prevail, some monopoly is sure to exist, because the superior will always be able to exercise some power not possible to the inferior.

The true way for society to get the most out of economic development is to keep the industrial field open to all comers, and to see to it that none shall have any legal or arbitrary

advantage. But all the advantage that can be created by superior economic effort is legitimate and necessary to progressive society. All that government should do is to keep the economic field free.

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### Repeal of the "Corn Laws"

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Can you tell when was the agitation for the repeal of the "Corn Laws" in England, and who was the first leader? D. R.

There was always opposition to the "Corn Laws," but the agitation for their repeal began in 1819. There had been murmuring and muttering and protests ever since their adoption in 1815, at the close of the Napoleonic wars; but in 1819 a regular agitation was commenced, and a platform for universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and the repeal of "Corn Laws" was put forward. The leader of this movement was Henry Hart. He was conspicuous for always wearing a white hat, and the movement for a considerable time was called the "White Hat" and "Liberty" party. This movement was made memorable by the Peterloo massacre when the soldiers charged upon a peaceful meeting in Peterloo square which was being addressed by Hart.

The movement continued until Hart died in 1835, and was succeeded by the Chartist movement, which continued the agitation down to 1848. But the Chartist platform did not contain a demand for the repeal of the "Corn Laws," and in 1839 the Anti-Corn Law League was formed, of which Richard Cobden was the real leader and which culminated in the Repeal Act of 1846, and from which England's free trade policy dates.

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### Invention of Gunpowder

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Can you tell where gunpowder was invented and when it was first used in war? D. R.

Gunpowder is said to have been invented in China about 800 years before the Christian era, but no immediate use was made of it, and like the art of printing, practically disappeared. There is some indefinite mention of the use of gunpowder by the Arabs in the 13th century and also by the French during the early part of the 14th century; but the first distinct use of gunpowder as an effective means of warfare was by Edward III in the battle of Crécy, August 26, 1346, where the English army of 36,800 won a tremendous victory against Philip, King of France, with an army numbering 100,000. It was in this famous engagement that when the Black Prince appealed to Edward for help he declined saying, "Let the boy win his spurs." It was also at this victory that the three ostrich feathers were adopted by the Prince of Wales, which have ever since been called the Prince of Wales's feathers.

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### First Use of Chimneys in Houses

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—When were chimneys first used in dwelling houses?

D. R.

The first mention of the use of chimneys in dwelling houses appears in the 14th century. No specific date can be assigned, but prior to the 14th century there were no chimneys. Not even royalty, in all the opulence of the Roman empire, nor the popes, nor even the refined Greeks, had chimneys to conduct the smoke out of houses or palaces. It had to find escape through doors or holes in the roof. In household conveniences, the commonest laborer of today is better provided than were the monarchs of the middle ages, or even the emperors of Rome.



## BOOK REVIEWS

THE RIGHTS OF MAN IN AMERICA. By John Bach McMaster. Cloth; 123 pages. \$1.50. Limited Edition. The Imperial Press, Cleveland.

This little book contains three lectures by Mr. McMaster on the development or, as he prefers, the acquisition of "political, social, and industrial rights of man in America." They were delivered before the Western Reserve University under the auspices of the Western Reserve Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. For a brief account of political rights at the time of the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution, and their subsequent development, it would be difficult to find anything more informing than are these lectures. They have the charmingly frank style that marks all of his writings.

In some cases the facts are told with such baldness that they disturb the halo we are accustomed to see around the fathers. Mr. McMaster calls attention to the real humanness of the early guardians of our liberties. The Declaration is, indeed, a statement of equal rights and liberties. The doctrines that all men are created equal and that the right to govern rests on the consent of the governed, he points out, were skilfully and persistently evaded in the process of converting the sentiment of the Declaration of Independence into the Constitution and into the laws of the states. "Nowhere," he says, "was voting and office-holding thrown open to all men, notwithstanding this natural right." Many states adopted a property qualification for the exercise of the suffrage. Connecticut required \$130 of real estate; Maryland a freehold of fifty pounds or personal property of thirty pounds; Virginia an ownership of twenty-five acres of land properly planted and with a house thereon at least twelve feet square on the foundation; North Carolina the payment

of a tax; while South Carolina insisted "that he must be a free white man, acknowledging the being of God and believing and acknowledging a future state of reward and punishment." In Georgia, any white male inhabitant owning ten pounds and paying a tax not only had the right to vote but was compelled to vote or pay a penalty of five pounds.

In many states the right to vote did not carry with it the right to hold office. This was accompanied by a special qualification. In New Hampshire, to be eligible for election to the legislature the voter must be a Protestant and own real estate worth one hundred pounds. In Massachusetts he must own a freehold of one hundred pounds or real estate to the value of two hundred pounds, and must believe in a divine inspiration and both the Old and the New Testament. In New York a freehold of one hundred pounds above all debts was necessary. To be a Protestant and own real estate would qualify in New Jersey; while Delaware demanded as a qualification that the candidate subscribe to the following oath: "I, A. B., do profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost, one God blessed evermore, and I do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be given by divine inspiration." Maryland insisted that a member of the assembly should own a freehold of five hundred pounds, and believe in the Christian religion. Mr. McMaster tells us the basis of office-holding was property. The man of small means might vote, but none save well-to-do Christians could legislate, and in many states none but a rich Christian could be governor. No Hebrew, no atheist, no Roman Catholic could be governor of New Hampshire, nor of New Jersey, nor of South Carolina; and none but a Christian in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina.

The statutes enacted by these legislators in the first quarter of the century also show that, despite the much-read and

widely-circulated Declaration of Independence, the spirit, and in many cases the letter, of the harsh laws of England and indeed of the Middle Ages were incorporated bodily. The treatment of debtors in many instances was but slightly better than it was before the Christian era. They did not make slavery a penalty for non-payment of debt, but, with this exception, there was little difference between many of the laws in the states and the laws of ancient India. Nearly all the states not only made imprisonment a penalty for the non-payment of even trivial debts, but they enforced it with relentless brutality. In 1816, 1,984 persons were imprisoned for debt. The author gives an instance where the amount due two partners was fifty-four cents, and each member of the firm divided the debt and had the debtor imprisoned for twenty-seven cents. In 1829, "thirty-two persons were in jail in Philadelphia for debts under one dollar, and in the thirty prisons of the state were 595 persons owing debts from one to five dollars." In 1831, there were in Philadelphia forty debtors imprisoned for the gross sum of twenty-three dollars, one man owed two cents, another seventy-two. Seven were confined 172 days for \$2.84, and the only debt recovered during fifteen months was one for seventy-five cents.

All this shows that even the reverend founders of our country were very human and that in the new republic so like the old country, the Declaration of Independence with its lofty ideals, was greatly needed. It has been to this country what the Magna Charta was to England, an ideal to be attained rather than an actual working principle.

Such a survey as Mr. McMaster gives us here shows what marvelous strides of progress this country has made, and that the progress has not been merely in the field of wealth-getting and material welfare, but "in the acquisition of the political, social, and industrial rights of man."

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A HANDBOOK OF MODERN JAPAN. By Ernest W. Clement. With maps and illustrations. Cloth; 375 pages. \$1.40 net; mailed \$1.53. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

This book is not only timely, although its publishing date is 1903, but it is also one of the most useful books on Japan that have recently appeared. It is not a profound work, nor can it be said to be authoritative and final in regard to any particular field; but it brings into one compact and readable volume all that the general reader of newspapers and magazines of the day will probably care to know about Japan.

In the introduction, Mr. Clement says his aim is "to satisfy the average general reader by giving a kind of bird's-eye view of modern Japan." This, it must be admitted, his book does in a very interesting and satisfactory way. Of course it does not rank with such works as Chamberlain's masterpiece "Things Japanese," nor indeed with the works of Murray, Griffis, or Rein; but within its scope it is perfectly adequate.

The author very readily enlists the sympathies of his American readers by asserting that the aims of the Japanese are similar to our own, and in sharp contrast with those of her great antagonist Russia. He says:

Her aims in the Far East coincide with ours and with the dictates of civilization. The supremacy of Japan in Eastern Asia means far more for America and American institutions than does the domination of Russia. Japan today enjoys rights unknown in Russia; social freedom, political privileges, representative institutions, local self-government, intellectual liberty, freedom of assembly and of the press, and religious liberty. Japan is already far in advance of Russia and, in many respects abreast of Germany, in civilization.

This handbook has one definite advantage over Mr. Chamberlain's "Things Japanese" in that it takes up topics rather than isolated facts. Of course, for quick reference the dictionary method of Mr. Chamberlain is ideal, but the plan adopted by Mr. Clement results in a more readable work.

One of the greatest services that the book will render American readers is that it will correct many errors concerning Japanese traits, some of which are repeated even in such a serious work as that by Mr. Gulick. It will suffice to call attention to one of these. The fact that many Japanese women have occupied high positions in the Empire—a thing inconceivable in the United States—would seem to be sufficient to silence those ancient and oft-repeated errors. The Japanese woman is not as far advanced as her sisters of France, England, and America; but she is tremendously advanced in comparison with her sisters in the Far East. It is clear that her position is becoming more independent and enlightened every day, and that she is advancing in this direction more rapidly perhaps than the women of any other country. Mr. Clement says:

As a matter of fact, the status of woman in Japan is improving in practise no less than in theory, especially in the new openings for work that render her more or less independent of male support. . . . The Japanese young woman is finding her sphere. She is likewise showing her skill and taste in both artistic and literary employments. . . . Within the past decade or so the educational advantages for Japanese girls have very largely increased; and the number of girls and young women availing themselves of these advantages has grown encouragingly. There has been a marked increase in the number of female pupils in public and private, including mission, schools of all grades; and there have been new institutions organized especially for young women.

In treating of the characteristics of the Japanese Mr. Clement, however, falls into a common error—due perhaps to his missionary associations—as to their superstitiousness. It is true that nearly all Western writers describe the Japanese as superstitious; but Mr. Clement goes a step farther and compares the superstitiousness of the Japanese with that of the ancient Athenians. He even attempts to quote Paul as authority, and as saying that the Athenians “were altogether superstitious.” Now, a man who has served in missionary work in Japan should know history, the Bible, and

the Japanese better. Paul said to the Athenians: "In all things I perceive that ye are somewhat superstitious"—the Revisers add or "religious." Paul did tell the Athenians they were eager after knowledge; and this is true also of the Japanese. They were and still are superstitious, but they are freeing themselves from this bondage with a rapidity and with a frankness of moral attitude that ought to commend itself to many enlightened Westerners, who still bow down to superstitions in religion, in philosophy, and in politics.

Mr. Clement calls attention, of course, to the short stature of the Japanese. It is well known that they are, judged by Western standards, undersized. In the opinion of experts, a Japanese man is of about the same height as the European women. His body is long and his legs are short; his average height being about five feet. Mr. Clement does not note, however, the fact that this shortness of stature, due to the short legs of the race, has been produced artificially, because the Japanese sit upon the ground or upon mats. It has been observed that since the introduction of Western customs in the army and navy the Japanese have gained something like an inch in height. This would lead to the conclusion that in several generations the race may attain approximately to the average height of Western peoples. Even if it does not, its intellectual and its martial stature—certainly its esthetic stature—are fully as high as that of any race in the world today.

An interesting feature of Mr. Clement's book is his bringing forward the views of the Japanese on their own "mission" and aim. Possibly the best presentation of the Japanese view is that made by the *Taiyō*, which is perhaps the leading periodical of Japan.

It is our duty to transmit the essence of Occidental civilization to our neighbors, as better success may be realized by so doing than by introducing there the new institutions directly from the West. The present



state of things in China does not allow her to appreciate fully the ideas of Westerners, more so because their fundamental conception of morals is at variance with that of the Occidentals. But Japan has every facility to win the confidence of China, in consideration of its geographical situation and its literary affinity. The valor, discipline, and order of our army have already gained the confidence and respect of the Chinese, and it now remains for us to guide them to higher possibilities with enlightened thoughts and ideas. Such a work can not be accomplished in a day; it will require years of perseverance and toil.

Mr. Clement is perplexed with many problems, among which are the transliteration and pronunciation of Japanese words. What he had to say upon these problems is interesting and partially informing, but it does not entirely satisfy. He speaks of the Japanese alphabet, when there is no alphabet in Japan but a syllabary. Of course, he knows this, but he should say so. Moreover, the syllabary is composed of fifty characters, and not seventy-three. The very name of the syllabary, *go-ju-in*, means fifty sounds. It is impossible, of course, to put into Roman or English letters the exact sounds used by the Japanese; but any one who pretends to do so should at least take a definite and consistent stand. In spite of what the author says, it seems to us to matter a great deal whether he writes *Ryukyu* or the ridiculous form "Loo Choo," which is neither Japanese, Chinese, nor good sense. Generally speaking, however, he is correct in the writing of most Japanese words and names, and it is gratifying to have, for once, the proper spelling of words. It is a pity that Mr. Clement did not drop obsolete forms as "Tartar" for the correct form Tatar and the obsolete form "Saghalien" for the correct form Sakhalin. We are gratified, however, to see dropped out of view the obsolete word "Mikado," and the true title, Emperor, given to the ruler of Japan.

A word might be useful with reference to the pronunciation of the Japanese words and names that now fill dispatches from the East. Mr. Clement is not at all satisfactory on this point. He says Japanese words have no plurals.

In this he is only half correct. Words may be pluralized by the addition of certain syllables, as "ra," or by repeating the word itself. A good example is in the plural for island, which is *shima-jima*, where the second word changes the initial consonant—a common phonetic law in Japanese.

He also has an idea that there are diphthongs in Japanese. There is not one. "ae," "ei," etc., are pronounced as separate vowels. "au," which Mr. Clement says is pronounced as the "o" in "bone," is invariably pronounced "ah-oo," or like "ow" in "how." Vowels in Japanese are pronounced like the Italian vowels, and the consonants as in English, except that the "g," is always pronounced as in "go," the "ch" as in "check," and the "z" before "u" is generally pronounced as "dz" in Italian. These simple rules, with the reminder that there is no stress in Japanese—every syllable receiving equal force—will enable anyone to pronounce Japanese words and names with approximate correctness.

The author has added to his work a fairly good map of Japan based upon official sources, several useful appendices and a good working index. Altogether the volume may be commended most highly to all persons who are interested in the great struggle now going on in the Far East, or who are interested generally in the most interesting people of the Orient, if they are not, indeed, the most interesting people in the world.

## PROGRESS OF THE MONTH

### **The Political Situation**

Within the last few days the political situation has been clarified very much. The opposition to Mr. Roosevelt, while no less evident and no less positive, has certainly less chance of successful organization. New York has endorsed him, although it shuddered at the "trust-busting" policy, and the convention timidly referred to Mr. Roosevelt's Merger campaign as a "social economic" movement. Evidently the New York convention could not go the length of endorsing a wholesale attack on organized capital, and used this euphemism to avoid hurting the sensibilities of campaign fund contributors. The Vice-presidential nomination is still in doubt as no one seems desirous of accepting it or having it thrust upon him.

On the Democratic side the campaign has become fairly definite. Only four names are now prominently mentioned for the presidential nomination—Judge Parker, Mr. Olney, Senator Gorman, and Mr. Hearst. The Hearst "boom" seems destined to early collapse. Senator Gorman will probably remain a dark horse, although he will be a possibility up to the time of the actual nomination. Mr. Olney has obtained the delegation from Massachusetts, and his strength seems to be increasing, although there is little chance of his going to the convention with as many delegates as Judge Parker. The instruction of the New York Democratic delegation for Judge Parker will probably result in the going over to Parker of the delegations of all states that still have to act. There now seems little doubt that he will go to the convention with very nearly if not quite a majority of the delegates favorable to him.

Senator Gorman, with his usual astuteness, has found the most attractive issue the Democrats have been able to get for the campaign, in his charge of "usurpation" by President Roosevelt. There is no doubt that the President has laid himself open to the charge of over-riding the legislative department and in setting aside law in order to carry out his personal views.

The unknown element in the campaign is still Mr. Bryan.



If he and the resentments and irritations he represents or can arouse, could be eliminated, Judge Parker or Mr. Olney would stand an even chance as against Mr. Roosevelt, though not as against some other Republican. The Democrats have a great opportunity, but lack the union and harmony necessary to seize it.

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**President Roosevelt** It must have been a rude shock to those who  
**and the** have regarded Mr. Roosevelt as a great  
**Civil Service** Civil Service reformer to find by the report of the Civil Service Commission that he has violated the Civil Service law more often than any other President. These admirers of the President have always held him up as a great reformer. It seems, however, that while Mr. McKinley set aside the law only three times, Mr. Roosevelt has done so sixty times. Where Mr. McKinley used a whip, Mr. Roosevelt has used scorpions. This is not a brilliant record for a Civil Service reformer, and is certainly a "bad eminence" to be held by one who has virtually posed as the foremost champion of the reform of our Civil Service.

There is no doubt, on the other hand, that Mr. Roosevelt has done some good work in the Civil Service, as he has transferred 294 exempt positions to the competitive class. In view of this creditable achievement it is astonishing to find his record so ominously dark on the other side.

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**The President** President Roosevelt made a notable speech  
**as a** at the recent dinner in Washington of the  
**Man of Letters** Periodical Publishers' Association. His address was on the general influence of letters, but he soon turned to a discussion of international manners. He said:  
"It seems to me that because of the very fact that we are so confident in the greatness of our country and our country's future we should beware of any undue levity or any spirit of mere boastfulness. Individual courtesy is a good thing and international courtesy is quite as good a thing. If there is any one quality which should be deprecated in the public man and in the public writer alike it is the use of language which tends to produce irritation among nations with whom we should be on friendly terms. . . . You can rest assured that no man and no nation ever thinks

the better of us because we adopt toward him feelings which we should resent if they were adopted toward us. . . . When all is as it ought to be in nation and state and municipality here at home we can then talk about reforming the rest of mankind."

His sentiment on the good policy and good taste of not "adopting" toward other nations "feelings which we should resent if they were adopted toward us" is certainly commendable. But it inevitably suggests that Mr. Roosevelt should press the chalice to his own lips. At Tacoma, on May 22, 1903, he made a speech announcing that the policy of this country should be to "dominate" the Pacific ocean as if the greatest of seas is to be considered only an American "lake;" and in other speeches throughout the West he made remarks that could not be otherwise than offensive to foreign powers. It is a pity that the present tranquil views of the President could not have been arrived at previous to his own heated utterances.

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America  
as the  
Baliff of Europe

Two recent events must be very gratifying to the pride and self-respect of the average American. One is the refusal of the United States to act as baliff to collect debts for European powers that wantonly allied themselves against a weak South-American republic; the other is the protest of Mr. Bowen, the American Minister to Venezuela, against a portion of the decision of The Hague Tribunal. For the United States to act as a debt-collector for three great European powers would have been a gratuitous ignominy. It is well that this country plainly asserts its self-respect and refuses to be placed in a position so menial and contemptible.

Mr. Bowen's protest will very greatly aid in damaging the prestige of the Tribunal. The Court evidently made a deliberate attempt to misinterpret the meaning of a letter which Mr. Bowen placed in the hands of the British Ambassador January 23, 1903. In this letter occurred the expression "all claims against Venezuela" and meant, of course, the claims of all nations against the South-American state. The Court, however, has decided that it referred only to the three allied powers, Germany, Great Britain and Italy.

**Will San Domingo  
be the Next?**

The stars in their courses seem to fight against Santo Domingo and to give the Administration an opportunity for the extension of its imperialistic policy. This unhappy little republic will, it is feared, soon "force" us to take possession of its government "in the interest of civilization." There is no stimulus to active virtue like an unselfish desire to govern these noisy little countries "in the interest of civilization." The Administration has notified the European powers that if *they* should attempt to intervene in Santo Domingo *we* will intervene at once. Nothing would be more natural, in the present temper of American "imperialism," for Santo Domingo to follow the course of Hawaii and the Philippines, or at least of Panamá, our little protégée on the isthmus. Unless the people of that perturbed republic settle their differences at once, and in our way, they must expect the inevitable but benevolent interference of the United States. This rush of creditor nations at the throat of Santo Domingo is an edifying spectacle! It is one of the first consequences of the recent disappointing decision of The Hague Tribunal in favor of brute force. The American Administration is not to be outstripped in a race after custom houses and territory.

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**Chinese Exclusion**

To their perpetual honor, the Chinese have refused any longer to be a party to their own humiliation in connection with their exclusion from this country. It must have been gratifying to all liberal thinkers when China denounced the existing treaty by which her subjects are excluded from the United States. It is the opinion of Attorney-general Knox that the exclusion law, which is possibly a little harsher than the treaty, will go into effect the moment the treaty lapses; but this is of little consequence, as the treaty was bad enough. It does not matter whether we think the Chinese should be excluded or not, but it does matter to the Chinese that their own government should have consented to an act so distinctly degrading. No self-respecting nation would agree to a treaty that excluded its citizens from admission to another country which demanded open doors for its commerce and free entry for its missionaries and trade exploiters.



**The Catastrophe  
on the  
Missouri**

One of the greatest catastrophes in the history of our navy occurred on the Missouri off Pensacola recently by an explosion in the gun turret. More than thirty men were killed. An inquiry has been instituted, but as all the officers and men in the turret at the time were killed it may be possible that the exact cause will never be known. The explosion occurred during competitive practise in rapid firing, and it may be that in the eagerness to establish a record less precaution was taken than usual. It is a regrettable fact that in a single disaster of this kind, in time of peace and amid the ordinary details of life on a battleship, more officers and men were killed than were lost in the Spanish war.

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**Victory for  
Child-Labor Laws**

One of the most important decisions recently made by the courts is that of Justice Roesch of the Municipal Court, New York, N. Y., in declaring the constitutionality of Child-Labor Laws. The Justice ruled that anyone who employed a child under fourteen years of age does so at his peril and can not successfully plead that he does not know that the child is under legal age. In making this decision he said:

"The defendant was not active in its quest after the age of the child. It complacently received the affidavit of the father upon that point. The forelady testified that she made no other inquiries, but rested entirely upon the affidavit and the statement of the girl that she was 'sixteen passed.' To the most casual observer the very appearance of the child refuted her statement. When she made it she was but eleven years, nine months old, and her daily toil dragged through ten and a half hours. She showed the effects in her mal-development and stunted growth. She was a living picture of the results of child-labor in a factory at a delicate age when womanhood and manhood are in a stage of development."

It should also be noted in this connection that the Chelsea Jute mills which were fined \$50 for employing a girl of twelve years, have decided not to appeal from the decision, and offer to cooperate with a joint committee to enforce the Child-Labor Law.

**Organized Labor  
and the  
Open Shop**

At its recent meeting in Philadelphia the National Association of Clothing Manufacturers adopted a resolution favoring the open shop and condemning the closed shop as un-American. The first clause follows:

"The closed shop is an un-American institution; the right of every man to sell his labor as he sees fit and the freedom of every employer to hire such labor are given by the laws of the land, and may not be affected by affiliation or non-affiliation with any organization whatever."

Up to this time organized labor has generally been opposed to the open shop, but recently a more judicious view has been taken of the matter. The action of the clothing manufacturers is a triumph of sane influence and marks a decided advance in the establishing of better relations between organized and un-organized labor.

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**The Growth  
of  
Arbitration**

The signing of the arbitration treaty between England and France is one of the most notable events of the year. Only the most cordial cooperation of the British government with the high statesmanship of Delcassé could have achieved such a splendid result. The enmity between France and *perfidie Albion* is traditional, but the French, with one of their beautiful vacillations, have made the splendid renunciation of hatred in order to advance the cause of arbitration.

The treaty gives the French a free hand in Morocco and Siam, while England is to be let alone in Egypt. France surrenders her sovereignty over a portion of the Newfoundland shore, for which she is to receive an indemnity to be determined by The Hague Arbitration Tribunal. The turning over to England of French possessions on this continent may bring up the application of the Monroe Doctrine. But it is hardly likely that the United States will challenge Great Britain's right to accept these islands from France.

France also gains considerable advantage in Western and Central Africa and now has an open path to Lake Chad and a guarantee of peace throughout her African empire. As to Morocco she now has to reckon only with Spain, and it is probable that all of Northern Africa west of Egypt and down to the Kongo, with the exception of British Nigeria and Sierra Leone, will fall under French domination.

In this connection, it is to be regretted that our own government has acted so badly in the matter of arbitration treaties. It seems probable that Secretary Hay and the President will not submit to the Senate an arbitration treaty because of the supposed objection of the Senate; but the Administration had little difficulty in "persuading" the Senate to ratify the treaty with Panamá. Treaties of this kind are being freely entered into by other civilized peoples, and should be ratified by the American Senate, and even if there is a chance against their ratification, it would seem that the Administration would like to have the credit of submitting them and leaving the opprobrium for their rejection on the Senate, rather than upon itself.

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**France and the  
Church**

No other country in the world does things in so brilliant and splendid a way as France. The spectacle of Premier Combes and the French people opposing the long-intrenched power of the Church and freeing themselves from the incubus, is one of the grandest things that the world has yet had to show. It reveals something of the great spirit that was exhibited in the French revolution. Certainly no other country could so free itself from prejudice, and take an elevated, independent, and judicious view of an intolerable situation, and accept whatever risks or sacrifices that were necessary to remedy it. It is to the everlasting credit of France that, in spite of the sentiment and superstition arrayed against her the government is sustained in its magnificent fight against a condition that has long been a reproach and a burden to the most enlightened and highly-civilized people in the world. France will soon break all the fetters of the Church, and will then have no manacles upon her buoyant spirit, which has always been the delight of the world.

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**The Russo-Japanese  
War**

There has been little actual progress in the war during the month. The Japanese have continued their daring and brilliant tactics of sending torpedo-boats into the harbor of Port Arthur to destroy the Russian ships, but have not accomplished much lately. The great event of the war up to this time, with the exception of the torpedoing of the Retvizan and Tsare-



vich is the destruction of the flagship Petropavlovsk at the mouth of Port Arthur, which cost the lives of between 700 and 800 Russians, including the best of the Russian sea-fighters Admiral Makarov, and also Admiral Molas and the famous painter Verestchagin. It now seems that this great ship was sunk by a remarkable device. The Japanese laid mines across the entrance to the Port during the night, although the ship that laid them was under fire from the Russian batteries aided by four searchlights that played continuously upon her. The vessel was not injured, and the mines were so quietly laid that the suspicions of the Russians were not aroused. Admiral Togo then had a small fleet maneuver at the harbor mouth, and Makarov dashed out to engage it. The fleet withdrew, followed by the Russians, and Togo endeavored to slip in behind the enemy; but the fog lifted in time for the Russians to discover the trick, otherwise the entire Russian fleet would have been captured or sunk. As it was, Admiral Makarov in rushing back to the harbor ran his battleship upon one of the Japanese mines. Grand Duke Cyril, an heir to the Russian throne, was one of the few that escaped.

The Russian fleet at Port Arthur is now ineffective, as nearly all of the vessels have been damaged and the morale of the sailors must be reduced to the lowest point. There is a general feeling that the port will fall to the Japanese as soon as they can land a force in its rear.

Vladivostok and its elusive squadron will probably be the next object of a Japanese naval attack. The ice has probably left the inner harbor and Admiral Komimura is ready, it is said, to deliver a decisive blow, and consternation prevails there as everywhere among the Russians.

On land little has been done, so far as is known to the outside world. The Japanese have reached the Yalu and are crossing it at certain points. The Russians are strongly fortified between the river and Mukden. It seems evident, however, that the operations along the Yalu are a feint to mask other movements. It does not seem likely that Japan would take the road that Russia prefers and along which she has massed her greatest force. It is more likely that the first great blow will be delivered against the Liao-tung peninsula or Niuchwang.

Although much is said about a Japanese advance on Harbin it is hardly probable that they would risk a campaign so far from their base of supplies. If Harbin could be captured and held it would be practically a decisive blow; but the hazard is too great, and Japan would probably feel that she had done enough if she holds Korea, expels the Russians from Manchuria, and seizes the island of Sakhalin. She might also seize and hold permanently Vladivostok and the Liao-tung peninsula. This would force Russia to take the offensive, and enable Japan to hold a perfectly defensible line along the Manchurian and Korean frontiers. This would be tantamount to the complete triumph of Japan.

**The English Slaughter of Tibetans** In this department in the April number attention was called to the unjust invasion of Tibet as the first melancholy effect of the war in the Far East. Since that was written, the British have committed one of the most brutal and unjustifiable wholesale murders that history has recorded. Nothing in the dark annals of Russia itself will quite parallel the slaughter of practically unarmed and unresisting Tibetans at Guru. Several hundred Tibetans were shot down because they showed some disposition to oppose the invasion of their country by an armed British force under the guise of a "diplomatic mission." From the very beginning, the real nature of the invasion was apparent, despite the fact that the British proclaimed it as a "diplomatic mission," and have the presumption to declare, even after the massacre at Guru, that the diplomatic character of the mission remains unaltered. As Lord Rosebery has said, "it is merely a question of a taste for tea." If the Tibetans, instead of preferring to trade with their suzerain, China, had purchased their tea and their other goods from British India, there would have been no occasion for this massacre. But England must have trade, if she has to fight for it. She would be fully as justified in attacking Algiers for preferring to trade with France, or we should be as fully justified in attacking Canada for preferring to trade with England. Of course these nice distinctions do not trouble the minds of the British cabinet. But the murder of the Tibetans at Guru will remain forever a stain upon the English people.

# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## IS THE TARIFF AN ISSUE?

PROTECTION is the one question upon which the two great parties are radically divided. This difference of policy is not superficial and temporary, but is radical and permanent. It has existed since the formation of parties.

The Democratic party is constitutionally opposed to protection. It does not always advocate literal free trade, only because the absurdity of such an attitude would be obvious; but in all circumstances it is opposed to protective tariffs, no matter what the import duties may be. If they afford any protection at all to domestic industries, they are too high. This is a very natural position for a party that is committed to the idea that protection is favoritism, and inconsistent alike with democracy, with equal rights, and with personal freedom. There is nothing surprising, therefore, in the fact that the Democratic party is a free trade party, and that when it can not safely advocate free trade it does "the next best thing, namely, advocate "tariff reform," "tariff revision," "tariff for revenue only," always aiming to lower the duties so much as to deprive them of any protective effect. Whatever have been its variations of policy, the Democratic party has always been substantially true to the free trade or non-protective idea; from Jefferson to Bryan it has stood firmly opposed to protection. So fundamental is this principle with the Democracy that when it set out to form a nation, it made free trade a specific part of its constitution.

With the Republican party the case has been the reverse. From its birth it has been the party of protection. From Hamilton to McKinley, whether under the name of Fed-



eralist, Whig, or Republican, it has been the party of protection. Indeed, protection is about the only political tenet for which the Republican party distinctively and traditionally stands. On the money question it can not be said to stand for anything in particular. Under Hamilton it stood for sound money and scientific banking, but it has departed from that in numerous ways. In adapting itself to varying conditions, it has favored greenbacks, national banks, and free silver, and even now is without a distinct financial policy beyond that of maintaining the gold standard, and keeping all our money at par. As to trusts, labor legislation, municipal home rule, and foreign policy, the Republican party is confused and uncertain.

As to many of these questions, indeed, there is not much difference in the two parties. If the question of expansion were submitted to the people, regardless of its effect on party fortunes, the lines that seem to separate the two parties would break down. A large portion of the Republican party would today vote against expansion and against the arbitrary attitude adopted as to Panamá; and a considerable portion of the Democratic party would vote with the Republican expansionists.

On the banking question, the experienced business portion of the Democratic party is quite as definitely committed to a scientific reform of our financial system as is any portion of the Republican party. On the other hand, a large portion of the Republican party is as definitely committed to retaining the greenbacks, the national banks, and the unscientific elements of our monetary system as are the most irrational of the Democrats. In fact, the great majority in each party is opposed to sound banking, and the intelligent minority in each is in favor of it.

On the trust question the two parties are vying with each other as to which shall fool the public most. No definite principle or policy is recognized by either. The unwisdom

of the Democratic party during the last twenty years has been so obvious that the business interests of the country have been compelled largely to group themselves with the Republicans, not because the business men of the country always believed in the full program of the Republican party, but because its attitude toward business interests as a whole was safer. The consequence is that the Democratic party has tended more and more to array itself against business interests. As industry has developed and so-called "trusts" come into existence, it has become aggressive. It has lent itself to public prejudice against large business concerns, and assumed to have a sort of divine commission as the guardian of the common people against the supposed oppression of combined capitalists. President Roosevelt and his Attorney-general have tried to convince the people that the Republican administration, and inferentially the Republican party, is as much opposed to "trusts" as is the Democratic party. One of the last squabbles in Congress, just before its adjournment, was between the leaders of the two parties as to which was the more pronounced enemy of "trusts." The Republicans claimed to be the real enemies, as they had passed the Sherman anti-trust law, and a Republican administration had enforced it in the Merger case. They even charged the Democrats with dodging the trust issue when last in office. Whereupon the Democrats skirmished around for evidence to prove that they are the genuine and original "trust-busters." On the trust question, therefore, there is not much to choose between them. As a corporation raider, Roosevelt is the full equivalent of Bryan or Hearst. If he were leading the Democratic guerrilla forces, he probably would be the equal of both of them put together.

It is true that the Republican party is more definitely committed to the gold standard than is the Democratic party, but that is manifestly due more to expediency than to principle. It is well known that when the St. Louis convention

met in 1896, Mr. McKinley was not committed to the gold standard, and no expression favorable to that policy could be extracted from him. Indeed, he had all the time been favorable to free silver, or bimetallism, as it was called. Mr. Roosevelt has frankly admitted that he did not know whether he was for free silver or the gold standard until he went on the stump. It is notorious that the early and most persistent advocates of the gold standard and sound banking were Democrats and the expounders of financial reform have conspicuously been Democrats and mugwumps, led by such journals as the New York *Evening Post*, the *Journal of Commerce*, the New York *Times*, the Brooklyn *Eagle*, and the Boston *Herald*.

The tariff question is, therefore, about the only question upon which the two parties are really divided on lines of economic policy. If by tradition and principle the Republican party stands for anything distinctive, it is protection to domestic industry and the preservation of the home market for American enterprise. If it surrenders this, and becomes the party of tariff vacillation and indifference, it will lose all claim upon the people as a party of distinctive political principle. It is only by living up to its one standard of economic policy that the Republican party can hope to keep the confidence and the support of the people. Its very existence depends upon its fidelity to the protective principle. Protection is and must be a political issue in this country just so long as protection is necessary to the maintenance and development of American industry; and this necessity will just exist so long as this country continues to lead the world in industrial development and social welfare.

There is only one condition upon which protection will cease to be an issue, and that is when the Democrats abandon their attacks upon it. A few months ago it began to look as if the tariff might not be an issue in the coming campaign. With the growing dissatisfaction with Mr. Roosevelt



among the business interests of the country, on the one hand, and the promise of political sanity on the part of the Democrats, on the other, supported by the repeated declaration of Democratic leaders that the gold standard is to be accepted, and all business-disturbing tariff agitation avoided, it seemed to be possible that the character of the candidates and the policy of the party on questions other than the tariff might be made the deciding issue of the campaign; but the adage that "the Democrats can always be trusted to make fools of themselves" was again verified. The foolish splurge made by William Bourke Cockran in his free trade speech, just before Congress adjourned, put the match to the fuse and all the good resolves of the Democrats were scattered like chaff before the wind. Cockran's tirade was so much to their liking that they could no longer restrain themselves, and at once showed violent symptoms of tariff-phobia. This aroused the Republicans to prompt combat, and put the tariff conspicuously to the fore as a vital issue. Since Congress adjourned, Republican conferences at the White House have outlined a platform in which protection is to be given a prominent place, thus making the tariff the chief issue upon which the Administration will appeal for reelection.

No personal virtues in the Democratic candidate can save the party from defeat when the contest is squarely waged on the question of protection or free trade. Much as a large number of Republicans dislike the erratic and unsafe character of Mr. Roosevelt, they will not join the Democrats in electing and candidate, whatever his personal virtue, on a tariff-disturbing issue. The experience of 1893 to 1897 amply satisfied the American people on that subject, for the present at least.

If the Republican platform takes a sufficiently definite position on that subject, Republican success in November is almost assured. To make success absolutely sure, how-

ever, the public must be convinced that Mr. Roosevelt is in thorough accord with the party on that subject. Any coquetting with the Iowa idea will not be accepted.

To be completely reassuring, the position of Republicans must be definite and sound as to reciprocity. Reciprocity is but an ingenious way of undermining protection. It is advocated only by those who would like to get rid of protection in any form. Reciprocity treaties are urged for the purpose of removing, or greatly reducing, protection to specific home industries in order to make the importation of foreign products easier. There are two kinds of industries to which reciprocity can apply; one is the group with which foreign products come in direct competition with home products; and the other is foreign products with which there is no home competition. The tax on non-competitive foreign products is purely a revenue tax. Reciprocity treaties may be made for the free admission of such products without injury to domestic industry, since the removal of such duties would only reduce the revenue. If any advantage can be gained in foreign markets for American products by such treaties, they may be safely negotiated, if we are prepared to forego the revenue. But any reciprocity treaty that removes protection from domestic industries that are competing with foreign products is a sacrifice of American industry to the advantage of foreigners. Such a treaty is uneconomic, unfair, and distinctly immoral. It is uneconomic, because it sacrifices the interest of domestic for foreign industries; it is unfair, because it takes protection from some industries, while affording it to others; and it is immoral, because it is unjust. A reciprocity treaty affecting competing products is of no advantage to foreigners, except to the extent that it injures the domestic industries. If we are to have protection at all, it should have the moral basis of fairness to all industries. If the Government is to exercise any protective influence over domestic industry, it should exer-

cise it justly to all. To sacrifice one industry for the benefit of another is the essence of favoritism, and is contrary alike to ethics and economics. Such a policy opens the door for all kinds of political immorality. Reciprocity in competing products is nothing more than the introduction of free trade in specific industries by special arrangement.

Let this policy once be established and an internal war between different industries will be begun. For instance, certain industries want free trade for raw material, and they will naturally advocate reciprocity treaties to remove the tariff from certain other industries to procure the free admission of their raw material. The question will soon arise as to which industry shall be sacrificed, and an opportunity will be given for a corrupting lobby. The industry that could furnish the most money for a corruption fund would have the best chance to adjust reciprocity treaties to its own advantage. A more prolific source of political corruption could not well be conceived.

Another objection to reciprocity treaties is that they would tend to disturb our friendly relations with foreign countries. If we make a treaty with France to admit certain French goods free of duty, or at a lower duty, while the whole duty is maintained on German goods of the same kind, we should arouse the political antagonism of Germany; the political friendliness of nations rests on industrial interests. What is true as to Germany, is true as to all countries. The American market is the best market in the world. All nations are anxious to obtain free access to it. If we wish to be on friendly relations with all other countries, we must treat them all alike, so far as trade and commerce is concerned. If we are to have protection at all, therefore, we should apply it uniformly to all the world. We should say frankly to all mankind that the policy of the United States is to secure the American market to American enterprise. American wages should be made the basis of



American competition. What the foreigner fails to pay in wages, he should pay in duty, so that the competition in the American market may rest on the economic merits of the industrial systems of the different countries.

Such a system of adopting free trade in spots, at the sacrifice of individual industries, has no justification in ethics or economics. Protection is a national policy; it should be applied to all the economic conditions of the nation. It should treat all domestic producers alike, and put the competition of all foreigners in the American market on the same basis. This is the traditional policy of the United States, and is the doctrine of the Republican party. If the party is true to that doctrine, and fairly and fearlessly applies it as a national policy, it will maintain the respect and confidence of the American people.

If we once begin with reciprocity there is no stopping. If the silk manufacturers are to be sacrificed in order to give cheap material to wool manufacturers, why should not wool manufacturers be sacrificed to give cheap clothing to the farmers; and so on? There is no reason that justifies the sacrifice of any one industry for the benefit of another, that will not apply all around the circle.

Protection is a vital interest to the industrial welfare of the nation; and when attacked by those who want free trade, it will necessarily become an issue which overshadows all others in a national campaign.

## THE ETHICS OF HIRED ELOQUENCE

WHEN a public man protests much his moral superiority, people are apt to suspect him, and in most cases the suspicion is well founded. Honesty is a common trait of mankind and may generally be taken for granted; the really dishonest are very rare.

Although politics furnishes a tempting field for demagoguery, it seldom yields such specimens of bald pharisaism as was exhibited during the closing days of the 58th Congress by the Honorable William Bourke Cockran. Mr. Cockran was formerly in Congress as the representative of Tammany Hall, but through some personal disagreement with Richard Croker he was retired. Then, after making his peace with Tammany, he was again elected to Congress to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Mr. George B. McClellan, the present mayor of New York. Mr. Cockran determined to signalize his return to Congress by making some startling speeches in the evident hope of becoming the recognized spokesman of the Democratic party on the floor of the House. For his theme he chose the tariff and for sweeping, violent denunciation of protection, he out-Cockraned Cockran. He arraigned protection as everything that is vile and dishonest. His fury was not confined to the tariff, but was poured upon those who advocated it. This very naturally and very properly called forth a critical review of Mr. Cockran's public career.

There is nothing truer than the adage that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones. It is very doubtful if there is a man in all the United States who has had such an inconsistent, illogical career as has Mr. Cockran. He is a forceful speaker with a great command of adjectives and

scathing invective, and has excellent lungs. He is, indeed, a powerful orator of the violent, physical type; who can make telling points that carry an audience; but this, with some Irish quick wit and ready retort, are his chief equipments. He has a certain amount of superficial plausibility. He has been on both sides of most of the important public questions of the last fifteen years, and made no lasting contribution to any. It is not surprising, therefore, that, when Mr. Cockran undertook to stampede Congress with a Philip-pic against the tariff and all who advocated protection, somebody should ask him a few questions regarding his previous positions and utterances in politics.

His audacity was so great that Mr. Dalzell of Pennsylvania could not resist the temptation and he asked Mr. Cockran if he held these views when he was on the stump advocating the election of McKinley, the embodiment of the protective policy. This irritated Mr. Cockran, and he replied that he was acting from principle, while Mr. Dalzell was playing politics for profit.

Mr. Dalzell thereupon inquired if he did not deliver those speeches in 1896 for money. This threw Cockran into a great rage, and after deluging Dalzell and all other protectionist with torrents of abuse, he declared that he had not received a farthing for his speeches throughout the campaign of 1896. Mr. Dalzell had reason to doubt this, and on the Tuesday following made a speech in which he described Cockran's political career by reciting a list of public performances which showed him to have been a veritable weather-cock, a political vagrant tramping from camp to camp. From documents and speeches he showed that Cockran had been a greenbacker; that he stumped for McKinley and the gold standard against Bryan and free silver in 1896; and supported Bryan and free silver against McKinley and sound money in 1900. He stumped for Tracy, Platt's candidate, against Tammany, in New York, and the next year



stumped for Tammany against Seth Low, one of the most honest and conscientious mayors New York has ever had. Mr. Dalzell might have added that when he was in the graces of Richard Croker, he was put forward as the spokesman for Tammany against the nomination of Cleveland in the Democratic convention of 1902, and his speech was the most scathing tirade against Cleveland that has ever been delivered, and that when he fell from grace with Croker, he became the fawning flatterer of Cleveland, though Mr. Cleveland had done nothing to change any honest man's estimation of him. With the exception of the money question, Mr. Cleveland was mostly in the wrong, but he was doggedly consistent. If he was entitled to any of Mr. Cockran's withering denunciations in 1892, the fawning flattery dealt out to him by Mr. Cockran in 1893-4 must have been hypocrisy.

Mr. Dalzell's withering analysis of Mr. Cockran's mottled career was manifestly too much even for Cockran's eloquence and cutting retort to repel, and he played the rôle of martyr, declaring that if this charge were true, he (Cockran) was unfit to be a member of the House, and, if untrue, Mr. Dalzell was unworthy of membership, and concluded by solemnly asking the immediate consideration of the following resolution:

*Whereas* the Hon. John Dalzell, a member of the House and of its Committee on Ways and Means, has charged on the floor that William Bourke Cockran, a Representative from New York and a member of the same committee, had been paid money by a political party to support a candidate for the presidency nominated in opposition to the party with which the said William Bourke Cockran had heretofore been affiliated, and

*Whereas* the said charge, though denied specifically on this floor by the said William Bourke Cockran, has not been withdrawn by the said John Dalzell, and,

*Whereas* said charge, if proved, establishes such conduct as should unfit any man for membership in this House, and, if false, should be so declared and its author censured severely, therefore be it

*Resolved*, That a select committee of five members be appointed by the chair to inquire into the truth of said charge and to report the testimony with their conclusions thereon, to this House at its session beginning the first Monday of December next, and be it further

*Resolved*, That said committee be and it is hereby given full power to compel the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such papers as the members thereof may deem necessary to full and proper discharge of the duty hereby imposed on them.

This gave the crowning touch to the buffoonery. Mr. Cockran may have been sharp enough to cover his tracks so well that an investigating committee could not put its finger on the proof that he actually received pay for his speeches, but if he devoted the remainder of his natural life to proclaiming that he traveled with a valet and in a luxurious way throughout this country, without any recompense, and paying his own expenses, few will believe him.

Mr. Cockran's conduct has so justified the common belief that he is a political mercenary, that in the last mayoral campaign in New York when he again took the stump for Tammany the responsible press of the city described him as the man with eloquence for sale. The pretense that he spoke for nothing and paid his own expenses in the McKinley campaign of 1896 is pharisaism. It is appealing to that ancient and often hypocritical sentiment that paid services are dishonest. It used to be regarded highly immoral to take pay for preaching. To prove that they were earnest Christians, ministers must preach for nothing. Experience has taught that such gratuitous preaching is mostly worthless, that good preaching has to be paid for like good writing and good workmanship of any kind, and now the greatest preachers generally have the highest salaries. Instead of the salary being a reflection on their sincerity, it is rather an evidence of their superiority. On that theory lawyers who receive fees must be regarded as dishonest. If such were the case, we should have no lawyers, and alas! no W. Bourke Cockran!

All this is just as true of politics as it is of law, religion, education, or any other field of activity. What if Mr. Cockran did receive pay for his speeches? There is nothing improper in that. If he was not paid, he should have been. No man should be expected to do what he did without pay. The dishonesty is not in receiving pay but pretending that he did not, and parading the fact as evidence of superior political ethics. Here is where the demagogue enters and where Mr. Cockran again falls in public estimation. Even if Mr. Cockran's clever retort that he stood for principle while Mr. Dalzell played for profit had been true, it would not have affected the ethics of the situation one iota. Mr. Cockran would not have been more or Mr. Dalzell less honest or earnest or trustworthy. If to receive pay for political speeches is an indication of dishonesty or of a mercenary motive, all political editorials and campaign literature are essentially immoral. What is the ethical difference between receiving pay for a speech, and receiving pay for writing editorials, compiling facts, writing books, or rendering any other service in a political campaign? Nobody believes such stuff, and those who talk it should not be taken seriously.

Campaigns are periods of political education and those who can contribute to the enlightenment of the public, either by writing or speaking, are rendering a public service for which they should be paid. The best and in the long run, the most moral method of payment, is money. If all speakers and writers, and those who render services during campaigns were paid in money, and their claims thereby discharged, it would add very much to the purification of American politics. The truth is very few people are willing to work in politics for nothing. If they do not get paid in money, they expect it in patronage, and to pay in patronage is far more injurious to public morals than to pay in cash. It is the payment for political services by patronage that has developed the most vicious side of the machine in



our politics. This is true of all parties, whatever their theories and wherever they exist. Men are put into positions of trust and responsibility for which they are utterly unfitted, as pay for services during a political campaign. By that method public offices are filled with incompetents and the public service is degraded to a mere scrambling for spoils. If political speakers were paid cash for their services, the Administration would be under no political or moral obligation to fill offices with incompetent officials. Candidates for appointment could then be selected entirely on their merits, just as a business man hires a clerk or a manager. It was a dramatic though stale retort, that protectionists are "playing politics for profit." Protectionists advocate protection because they believe that it promotes the prosperity of the country. In that sense they do act in politics for profit. They advocate the policy most profitable to the country, and, therefore, most profitable to themselves. Every politician who does not act in politics from that motive is a traitor to the welfare of the country.

In his effort to take Congress and the country by storm, Mr. Cockran demonstrated that he is rather a noisy disclaimer than a serious statesman. It was apparent to all that his torrential shower of eloquent invectives was a stage performance for campaign purposes. But he overreached himself. In his effort to become a lionlike leader, he became the "hoodoo" of his party. In his speech on the tariff he gave vent to a flow of words and feeling, that swept the Democrats off their feet and practically committed them to a free trade policy. This was precisely what the sane leaders of the party were studiously trying to avoid. It has been the effort of the wise Democrats to steer clear of radical and violent extremes and take a dignified and conservative attitude on great public questions, and especially on the tariff. This was considered their strong point in the coming campaign. The chief criticism of President Roosevelt, both in

and out of his own party, is for his rashness in dealing with this and similar questions. The business interests of the country feel insecure while he is at the helm. The hope of the Democrats of regaining power rested entirely on the possibility of their adopting a platform and selecting a candidate that should carry assurance to the country of a sound and sane administration.

In their wild applause and exciting demonstration of approval of Mr. Cockran's denunciation of the tariff, the Democrats destroyed the confidence of the public in their conservatism on this subject. They were under the spell of Cockran's eloquence as the Chicago convention of 1896 was under that of Bryan, and in their enthusiasm and in an unguarded moment, they assumed the fatal rôle of enemies of protection.

The moderation of the New York platform, the silence of Judge Parker, and the conservative expressions by party leaders like Senators Bacon and Gorman, avail little in the face of such a furious outburst in favor of a ruthless onslaught on the protective policy of the nation. The disastrous effect of Cockran's speech upon the party prospects was seen in the following day's debate in Congress, when Mr. Littlefield of Maine for more than an hour badgered the Democratic leaders, and dared them to say that they agreed with Cockran and approved his sentiments. They sat like mute cowards, wishing that Cockran had been elsewhere and a more careful, if less eloquent person, had spoken for them. They could not quite repudiate him, and they did not dare endorse him. They had gone wild over his utterances, and given unrestrained endorsement to sentiments that represent the very policy to insure their overwhelming defeat. As Mr. Littlefield tantalizingly told them, if they go to the people with Cockran's policy, Parker will be buried deeper than Bryan, and Roosevelt will have a walk-over.

## THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA

EDWIN MAXEY, M. DIP., LL. D.

THAT the contract for the transfer of Louisiana from France to the United States is one of the epoch-making transactions in the world's history, does not admit of question. In point of importance among the facts in our national history it is but little inferior to the Declaration of Independence or the framing of our Constitution. It is, therefore, well worthy of our careful consideration, not only as to its results, but also as to the means used in bringing about the contract. And it is with a consideration of the latter that the present discussion is primarily concerned.

The parties to this contract were France and the United States. That all the other elements of a contract were present is apparent. On the part of the United States the controlling motive was possession of territory that would enable us to exercise the right of navigation of the rivers emptying into the Gulf, particularly the Mississippi. This right we had by treaty and, according to Jefferson, by nature. But the possession of a right is one thing, and the means of exercising it so as to render the right of practical value, another thing. And unfortunately the former may, and in fact in many cases does, mean very little without the latter. Such appeared to be the case in the present situation; for, notwithstanding the fact that our treaty with Spain of October 27, 1795, gave us the right of navigation of the Mississippi and the right of deposit at New Orleans with a stipulation that another place should be designated if this should be closed, the Spanish Intendant at that city had issued a proclamation October 16, 1802, denying us the



right of deposit there and not naming any other place. Now, as goods were not, as a rule, brought down the river in the same kind of vessels as those in which they would be shipped on the Gulf and the Atlantic, but were transferred at this point, the refusal of the right of deposit seriously tion. It did not render worthless, the right of navigation.

It was feared that Louisiana under the cession came into possession of Treaty of St. Ildefonso, of 1800, she contained in the right of navigation of the Mississippi and, by our commerce, bring on a war. Few realize how close we were to the verge of war at that time. A motion was made in the Senate to send 50,000 militia to seize New Orleans and that \$15,000,000 be appropriated to meet the expenses that should be incurred. Congress authorized the President to direct the governors of the states to call out 80,000 militia, if needed. The Federalists of New England as well as the frontiersmen of the Mississippi Valley were clamorous for war. In just what proportion the former mixed their politics with their patriotism is not my province to decide, but the latter were no doubt sincere. They declared: "If Congress refuses us effectual protection, if it forsakes us, we will adopt the measures which our safety requires, even if they endanger the peace of the Union and our connection with other states. No protection, no allegiance."

To such an extent had the sense of injury already received, and a fear of even greater to follow, inflamed the minds of citizens and officials alike, that even the peace-loving Livingston, our minister to Paris, wrote to Monroe: "We must employ force. Let us get possession of the country and negotiate afterward." In a letter to Madison (*Amer. State Papers, Foreign Rel., Vol. II, p. 553*) he says: "He [Talleyrand] told me he would answer my

note, but he must do it evasively because Louisiana was not theirs. I told him that I was very well pleased to understand this from him, because if so, we should not commit ourselves with them in taking it from Spain, to whom, by his account, it still belonged; and that as we had no cause of complaint against her, if we went further on the subject, but advised her to take possession." President Jackson determined to use every means at his disposal to prevent, or at least to postpone war; for, he was convinced that "there is one spot—New Orleans—the possession of which renders its possessor the natural enemy of the United States," it was his settled policy to postpone the clash as long as circumstances would permit. This is very clearly stated in his letter to Dr. Williamson: "I am confident in the policy of putting off the day of contention for it till we obtain more of that strength which is growing on us so rapidly, and especially till we have planted a population on the Mississippi itself sufficient to do its own work without marching men 1,500 miles from the Atlantic shores to perish by fatigue and unfriendly climates. This will soon take place." He nevertheless recognized that under certain circumstances a postponement even would be impossible; for in his letter to Dupont he says: "The use of the Mississippi is so indispensable to us that we can not hesitate one moment to hazard our existence for its maintenance. If we fail in this effort to put it beyond the reach of accident, we see the destinies we have to run and prepare at once for them, not but that we shall still endeavor to go on in peace and friendship with our neighbors as long as we can, if our rights of navigation and deposit are respected; but as we foresee that the caprices of the local officers, and the abuse of those rights by our boatmen and navigators, which neither government can prevent, will keep up a state of irritation which can not

long be kept inactive, we should be criminally improvident not to take at once eventual measures for strengthening ourselves for the contest." The meaning of this can not be mistaken. Jefferson recognized the fact that we were face to face with a serious situation and that something must be done to allay the popular excitement, and remove, if possible, the cause of the friction. He accordingly sent James Monroe as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to act with Minister Robert R. Livingston in negotiating for a transfer of New Orleans to the United States.

Our needs were happily rendered possible of satisfaction by the coexisting need on the part of France to sell. This was brought about by the turn taken in the political affairs of Europe, together with the failure of French arms in Santo Domingo. It was rapidly becoming evident to Napoleon that the Peace of Amiens was but temporary and that a war between France and England could not long be delayed. He saw clearly that in this event England would seize Louisiana and that his dream of empire in the New World would be at an end. The French treasury was also in need of money. It did not take Napoleon long to put two and two together in such a way as to make four. He said to Marbois and Berthier: "They [the English] shall not have the Mississippi, which they covet. The conquest of Louisiana would be easy if they only took the trouble to make the descent there. I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their reach. I think of ceding it to the United States. They only ask of me one town in Louisiana, but I already consider the colony as entirely lost; and it appears to me that in the hands of this growing power it will be more useful to the policy and even the commerce of France than if I should attempt to keep it." General Berthier was decidedly opposed to this course, but the First Consul, turning to Marbois, said: "It is not only New Orleans I will cede, it is the whole colony without any



reservation. To attempt to retain it would be folly. I direct you to negotiate this offer with the envoys of the United States. I will be moderate in consideration of the necessity in which I am of making a sale. But keep this to yourself."

Thus unexpectedly an empire was placed within our reach. But, notwithstanding the threefold advantage to France in disposing of it (the money she would receive, the placing it out of the power of England to possess it, and the cementing of the friendship between France and the United States), and likewise the immense advantage the securing of it would be to us, not only in the possession of the land as an overflow ground for the Indians and others, but what seemed of far greater importance at that time, as furnishing us the control of the navigation of the Mississippi and thus removing a prolific source of trouble and a threat of war—the prize would have slipped from our grasp had not broad statesmanship triumphed over a narrow adherence to instructions and theories as to constitutional powers. Whatever we may think of Jefferson's political ideas, his action was statesmanlike and diplomatic in the highest degree. A weak-willed executive might have permitted himself to be drawn into a war, which, as Jefferson says in a letter above quoted, might have cost us "the loss of a hundred thousand lives, a hundred millions of additional debt, many hundred millions' worth of produce and property lost for want of a market, or in seeking it, and that demoralization which war superinduces on the human mind;" or by vacillation or delay might have permitted the prize to fall into other hands.

The appointment of James Monroe was a wise step, as he possessed in a higher degree than other Americans the love and confidence of both nations. Having chosen a commissioner in whom he had confidence, his good sense was shown again in not tying his hands with instructions. For the instructions given, although elaborate, were elastic, such

as would help and not hamper a negotiation. The last part of the instructions is as follows: "These instructions, though as full as they could conveniently be made, will necessarily leave much to your discretion. For the proper exercise of it, the President relies on your information, your judgment, and your fidelity to the interests of your country." (Amer. State Papers, For. Rel., Vol. II, p. 544.) To show that the conditions under which France was laboring were appreciated by our Foreign Office, we need but quote the following from the above document: "On the supposition that France does not mean to force or to court war with the United States, but, on the contrary that it sees the interest which France has in cultivating their neutrality and amity, the dangers to so desirable a relation must have great weight in recommending the change you propose. The time chosen for the experiment is pointed out also by other considerations. The instability of the peace of Europe, the attitude taken by Great Britain, the languishing state of French finances, and the absolute necessity of abandoning the West-Indian Islands, or of sending thither large armaments at great expense, all contribute at the present crisis to prepare in the French Government a disposition to listen to an arrangement which will at once dry up one source of foreign controversy, and furnish some aid in struggling with internal embarrassments."

Jefferson's personal correspondence with M. Dupont, then at the French court, was of a diplomatic and effective character. In his letter of February 1, 1803, he says: "The confidence which the government of France reposes in you will undoubtedly give great weight to your information. An equal confidence on our part, founded on your knowledge of the subject, your just views of it, your good disposition toward this country, and my long experience of your personal faith and friendship, assure me that you will render between us all the good offices in your power. The

interests of the two countries in this matter being absolutely the same, your aid can be conscientiously given. It will often perhaps be possible for you, having a freedom of communication, omnibus horis, which diplomatic gentlemen will be excluded from by forms, to smooth difficulties by representations and reasonings which would be received with more suspicion from them. I am endeavoring to turn our private friendship to the good of our respective countries. And can private friendship ever answer a nobler end than by keeping two nations at peace, and making them natural friends instead of natural enemies?" Evidently no avenue of approach to the French court, no legitimate means of influencing its opinion, were left untried.

By thus enlarging upon the part taken by the President, it is not my purpose to rob the other negotiators of their just share of the credit. For although they could not agree upon a division of it among themselves, it seems that there should have been enough glory in it for both. They did their work well, and in doing it they were called upon to go outside of their instructions and accept the responsibility for their action. To delay negotiations more than two months, in order to receive further instructions from their government directing them how to act in the changed circumstances may have caused their failure. The value of the acquisition was not and could not be appreciated at that time, and it was by no means certain that their action would meet with approval. Nevertheless they accepted the responsibility and acted in accordance with what seemed to them the wisest policy. By so doing they gave us an empire of 875,025 square miles (more than half the size of Europe) out of which six entire states, parts of six others, and two entire territories have been formed, almost any one of them being larger than England.

Napoleon asked one hundred million francs and the assumption by us of the claims of our citizens against



France. We paid sixty million francs and assumed the debts, which were about twenty million francs, making the property cost us about fifteen million dollars. The value of it is now measured, not by millions, but by thousands of millions. In justification of his conduct, Monroe, in a letter to Jefferson dated Paris, May 18, 1803, said:

The purchase of the whole of Louisiana, though not contemplated, is nevertheless a measure founded upon the principles and justified by the policy of our instructions, provided it be thought a good bargain. The only difference between the acquisition we have made, and that which we were instructed to make in that respect is that a favorable occasion presenting itself, which indeed was not anticipated by the administration in the measures which led to that event and laid the foundation for it, we have gone further than we were instructed to do. . . . I most earnestly hope that what is done here will lay the foundation of great and permanent happiness to our country. To have contributed in any degree to carry into effect those measures and justify the wisdom and benevolence of the policy which dictated them, if the result is approved, will always be a source of much delight to me.

In general, their action was approved, and the gratitude of their countrymen was even then not withheld from them, Monroe being afterward elected President partly because of his having won the hearts of the Westerners by the part he had taken in the negotiations.

There were, however, those who made haste to put themselves on record as being emphatically opposed to any encroachments upon their country's liberties. For instance, Senator White of Delaware sounded the solemn warning: "As to Louisiana—this new, immense, unbounded world—if it should ever be incorporated into the Union, of which I have no idea, I believe it will be the greatest curse that could at present befall us. It may be productive of immeasurable evils and especially of one that I fear ever to look upon. Our citizens will be removed to the immense distance of two or three thousand miles from the capital of the Union, where they will scarcely feel the rays of the general government. Their affections will become alienated; they

will gradually begin to view us as strangers; they will form other commercial connections and our interests will become distinct. And I do say that under existing circumstances, even supposing that this extent of territory was a desirable acquisition, fifteen millions of dollars was a most enormous sum to give."

Representative Griffin of Virginia "feared the effect of the vast extent of our empire, the effects of the increased value of labor, the decrease of the value of lands, and the influence of the climate upon the health of our citizens who should migrate thither. He did fear (though this land was represented as flowing with milk and honey) that this Eden of the New World would prove a cemetery for the bodies of our citizens."

On the part of the French, the negotiations were such as one would naturally expect from the character of the men—the rôle played by Napoleon was brilliant and decisive; by Talleyrand, shrewd and evasive; by Marbois, who was a warm friend to America, liberal in so far as was consistent with a due performance of his duty to his country. To use the words of Monroe with reference to the conduct of the latter: "I add with pleasure that the conduct of M. Marbois in every stage of the negotiations, was liberal, candid, and fair, indicating a very friendly feeling for the United States and a strong desire to preserve the most amicable relations between the two countries."

The treaty of cession having been signed—and this was done in less than three weeks after Monroe reached Paris—the President must, if he wished it to go into effect, submit it to the Senate for ratification and call upon Congress for an appropriation. Jefferson's views were very clearly expressed in a letter to Mr. Breckinridge dated Monticello, August 12, 1803. After discussing the objections to the treaty he says:

The treaty must, of course, be laid before both houses, because both have important functions to exercise concerning it. They, I presume, will see their duty to their country in ratifying and paying for it, so as to secure a good which would otherwise probably be never again in their power. But I suppose they must then appeal to the nation for an additional article to the Constitution, approving and confirming an act which the nation had not previously authorized. The executive in seizing the fugitive occurrence which so much advances the good of their country, has done an act beyond the Constitution. The legislature in casting behind them metaphysical subtleties and risking themselves like faithful servants, must ratify and pay for it and throw themselves on their country for doing for them unauthorized what we know they would have done for themselves had they been in a situation to do it. It is the case of a guardian investing the money of his ward in purchasing an important adjacent territory and saying to him when of age, I did this for your good; I pretend to no right to bind you; you may disavow me and I must get out of the scrape as I can; I thought it my duty to risk myself for you. But we shall not be disavowed by the nation and their act of idemnity will confirm and not weaken the Constitution, by more strongly marking out its lines.

Jefferson had theories—plenty of them—but they were not his sole guides. He had the good sense to discern when “a condition and not a theory” confronted him. When there was necessity for action, he did not suffer himself to be hampered by theory but acted in accordance with what seemed wise in all the circumstances; in other words, he squared his political actions by the rule of a wise expediency. There is this difference between a statesman and a philosopher: the former recognizes the fact that the welfare of the people is the supreme law. Had Jefferson permitted his theories as to constitutional powers to override all considerations of expediency, as a narrower mind may readily have done, we should probably have been denied one of the most brilliant chapters in our diplomacy and been seriously hampered in our national progress.



## HOW COLONIES ARE GOVERNED

### GERMANY'S RECENT EXPERIMENTS IN AFRICA AND IN OCEANIA

STEPHEN PIERCE DUGGAN, PH. D.

BEFORE 1870 there was neither desire nor opportunity for the acquisition of colonies by the Germans.<sup>1</sup> German missionaries had done noble work and German explorers and scientists had made great reputations in Africa, and German commerce was extensive in West Africa and in Polynesia. But the attention and efforts of German statesmen were directed to the task of unifying their country and making it a great power in Europe. After the war with France, however, the strong spirit of nationalism which had been aroused was shocked at the sight of two hundred thousand men and women, the very flower of the German nation, leaving its shores annually to settle in the United States and other foreign countries and be absorbed in their population. Moreover, Germany, according to many patriots, was becoming a great manufacturing country which must have new markets for its goods. The navy also and the shipping industries were strong for a vigorous colonial policy as an instrument for their own development. All these views were vigorously advocated in 1879 by Dr. Fabria in his *Bedarf Deutschland der Kolonien*, the publication of which gave a great impetus to the colonial movement. Colonial socie-

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<sup>1</sup>The Great Elector, Frederick William, participated in the work of exploration and settlement in the seventeenth century. He formed settlements on the west coast of Africa in 1683, but they were not very successful and were sold to the Dutch by his successors. See Weinecke, *Die Deutschen Kolonien im Wort und Bild*, pp. 1-3.

ties were founded which soon established branches in many parts of Germany and began an active propaganda among the men of influence. Much was written about the need of spreading the true *Deutsche Sitte*, and the German *Weltberuf* played as prominent a part in German colonial history as "manifest destiny" and "Providence" in America. But two great obstacles presented themselves to the *Kolonialmenschen*. Bismark, whose position at the Congress of Berlin had drawn upon Germany the hatred of Russia, felt that the empire must dissipate no energy in colonization but husband it for defense against its enemies on the east and the west. "Ich bin von Hause aus Kein Kolonial-mensch," he said in the Reichstag as late as January 15, 1889.<sup>2</sup> And the Reichstag still had for its majority the men who had labored for unity and who believed that the empire should now direct its energies toward domestic development. Liberals in politics and free-traders in economics, they opposed a colonial and imperialist policy which from its very nature would be protectionist and reactionary.

But Bismark was deeply interested in anything which affected the commercial interests of his country and when the Hamburg house of Godefroy & Co., which had had for generations large interests in Samoa and Polynesia, failed in 1880, supported by the *Kolonialmenschen*, he introduced a bill into the Reichstag to empower the government to guarantee the dividends of a new South Sea company, but the Reichstag rejected it. The government, nevertheless, gave the company its moral and political support, and Bismark who feared that German commerce in Polynesia and West Africa might fall into the hands of rival powers, began to listen more attentively to the representations of the *Kolonialmenschen*. The latter then determined on positive action. In 1883, Herr Lüderitz, a Bremen merchant, prob-

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<sup>2</sup>The speech will be found in the Annual Register for 1889, p. 300.

[June,

ably at the instigation of the *Deutscher Kolonialverein* bought from native chiefs a strip of land about 215 miles long on the southwest coast of Africa at Angra Pequena and then asked for the protection of the imperial government. He was supported in this request by the German missionaries who complained of the lack of protection given by the British government which maintained a general supervision over the coast. It is from this time that the enmity between Great Britain and Germany dates, for at every turn the interests of the two nations clashed. Bismarck repeatedly asked Lord Granville, the foreign secretary, if Great Britain intended to exercise permanent control over the coast, but he received only evasive answers. Great Britain did not want to assume the responsibility herself of protecting life and property in that little-known region but she did not want any other power to annex the territory, and, moreover, no one in England believed that Bismarck would ever permit Germany to be led into colonialism. Bismarck finally became provoked and on April 24, 1884, he announced that Angra Pequena had been taken under the protection of the Imperial government. Before the year was out the German officials had extended the boundaries of the protectorate from the Orange River, the northern boundary of Cape Colony, to the Cunene, the southern boundary of the Portuguese possessions.<sup>8</sup> The movement once begun was pushed with feverish activity. Dr. Nachtigall was sent out "to examine the conditions of German commerce in the Gulf of Guinea" and he incidentally proclaimed a German protectorate over Togoland and Kamerun. The Niger coast territory was saved to Britain only by the prompt action of Sir George Goldie. Dr. Peters, Count Pfeil, and Dr. Jühlke landed shortly afterward at

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<sup>8</sup>The controversy will be found in British and Foreign State Papers for 1883-1884, Vol. 75, p. 528 et seq.



Zanzibar in the guise of workingmen and crossing over to the mainland with a plentiful supply of German flags and treaty blanks soon had acquired from native chiefs an immense area of territory under the very noses of the British, who once more protested. Another expedition was sent in the same year to New Guinea and it proclaimed a German protectorate over the northern part which was named Kaiser Wilhelmsland. The Germans were about to annex the southern part also, but found that they had just been anticipated by the British who had acted in response to the outcry of the Australians. The neighboring islands were annexed and named Bismark Archipelago. All this was done before the close of 1884. Since that year Germany has annexed the Marshall Islands, bought of Spain the Carolines and the Ladrões except Guam, "leased" Kiauchou from China for ninety-nine years because of the murder of two missionaries, and obtained the larger part of the Samoan group after a bitter controversy, partly with the United States but chiefly with Great Britain.<sup>4</sup> Today, the German possessions cover an area of 1,500,000 square miles and contain a population of 13,000,000.<sup>5</sup>

Germany has acquired, therefore, a vast extent of territory, but what is it worth? When the Germans caught the colonial fever the best portion of unoccupied lands had already been acquired by other powers and the Germans had therefore to be satisfied with the leavings. The territories they have acquired are all either in tropical or subtropical regions. In the colonies of both East and West Africa, the climate is exceedingly unhealthy, malaria and black fever being cruel scourges. In Southwest Africa the climate is better, but there is no rainfall and the greater

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<sup>4</sup>A good account of German colonial expansion is found in Keltie, *The Partition of Africa*, Chaps. XII-XVII; also Dr. Geffcken, *The Germans as Emigrants and Colonists in the Forum*, XIII, 200.

<sup>5</sup>*Statesman's Year Book* for 1903.

part of the colony is a desert. In none of the German colonies is it possible to carry on European agriculture, conditions permitting that industry only on the plantation system. The exports hitherto have consisted chiefly of India-rubber, ivory, and copra, but owing to the reckless exploitation of the two former industries, the increase in exports has been small. The inhabitants of the German possessions are of the lowest types of humanity whose wants are of the very simplest and the only imports for native consumption have been liquors and arms; materials for the German settlers the majority of whom are officials, and materials for public works make up the remainder of the imports. The climate, location, and character of the people are strong obstacles to the German possessions in Africa becoming very valuable for trade to the mother country. To all these defects must be added in the case of New Guinea its distance from the regular trade currents. Kiauchou has given no evidence of ever being able to compete with Shanghai as a trade center. The smaller islands of the Pacific for trade purposes are almost negligible quantities. Hence, the first aim of the Germans in acquiring colonies, viz. : to obtain new markets has hardly been fulfilled in any case except Samoa. The second purpose to find homes for their emigrants who could retain their nationality and patriotism has not been accomplished at all. There are not 5,000 Germans in all the German colonies together and most of these are officials.

At no time have the colonies paid their expenses. The receipts from the various forms of taxation, land, hut, and poll taxes, customs and excise receipts have never been sufficient to permit that desideratum. The deficit has to be made up by the imperial government, and has shown an annual increase since the colonies were acquired. In 1902 that deficit amounted to 30,000,000 marks. That sum, however, does not represent the entire cost of the colonies to the mother country for many items of cost both in the civil and

military administration do not appear in the colonial budget but in the statements of the various imperial departments.<sup>6</sup> The greatest obstacle to progress in the German colonies is the lack of ways of communication and transportation. There are few navigable rivers and no roads leading into the interior. To open up the hinterland especially in East Africa railroads are an absolute necessity, but nearly every appropriation introduced by the government for that purpose has been voted down in the Reichstag on the theory that the railroads should follow the growth of the colony, not create it. The opponents of colonial expansion, especially the Radicals and Socialists, are very bitter in their opposition to expenditure on the colonies, when so much, they claim, remains to be done at home.

It was not the intention of Bismark, in the beginning of Germany's colonial career that the government should shoulder the expense and responsibility of administering the colonies. He resurrected, therefore, the seventeenth century scheme of trading corporations which were given, not only commercial privileges but also the powers of government necessary for administration. With the exception of Togoland and Kamerun which were considered sufficiently far advanced for the government to assume direct control, all the colonies were placed under the control of these corporations, modeled upon the old Dutch and English East India companies. The sole duty of the government was to protect the colonies from foreign aggression, hence their name "*Schutzgebiete*," Protectorates. In that way, the government was relieved of the expense and responsibility, and at the same time was in a position to assume control when

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<sup>6</sup>See the excellent reports on the financial and industrial conditions of the German colonies found in the Diplomatic and Consular Reports of Great Britain for 1902, Nos. 2758 and 2790.



it so desired.<sup>7</sup> But the history of the companies was another instance of the incompatibility between the two functions of trading and governing. The companies went in for immediate gain, without thought of the future. Incompetence and mismanagement marked their commercial career, and a total indifference to the feelings of the natives and to the real needs of the colonies marked their governmental administration. They were always on the verge of bankruptcy and finally the great Arab rebellion in East Africa compelled the imperial government to assume control of that colony in 1888. Since that date, all the other colonies have gradually come under the direct administration of the imperial government.

The sovereignty of the empire had been extended over the colonies by decree of the Emperor who claimed the power to do that under the provision of the German Constitution which gives him the right to represent the empire in international relations. But the Reichstag was determined that though the Emperor might annex new territory, he should govern it only in agreement with the Reichstag which could control him through appropriations. The Organic Law of the Colonies is the "*Schutzgebiet Gesetz*" of October 17, 1886, as modified July 25, 1900. The Reichstag has the right to amend this act and to change the administration of the colonies by statute, but it has seldom used the right. The entire administration of the colonies is placed in the hands of the Emperor, who also can legislate for the colonies by ordinance. A Department of the Colonies has been formed as a bureau of the foreign office, the head of the department with the title of Direktor and all the officials being immediately responsible to the Chancellor. The foreign office, however, controls the action of the depart-

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<sup>7</sup>A good statement of Bismark's early position and of its impracticability is found in Leroy-Beaulieu, *Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes*, Vol. I, Chap. V.

ment only in foreign affairs; in colonial matters, the department has an independent authority. The Emperor can delegate to the Chancellor, and usually does, his right to legislate for the colonies by ordinance. The Colonial Department is assisted by the Kolonialrat, the Colonial Council, a body of experts in colonial matters, now numbering twenty-five, appointed by the Emperor to offer counsel and suggestions as to the administration of the colonies. At the head of every colony is placed the Governor, who is appointed by the Emperor, every other colonial official, being appointed by the chancellor. He has the power to issue ordinances, affecting the internal administration of the colony in regard to health, public peace, and kindred matters, and is a court of last resort in criminal matters. In every colony there is associated with the civil administration a military force under the control of the governor. The colonies are in an anomalous position from the standpoint of constitutional law, for some purposes being considered foreign territory and for others, being considered imperial territory. The natives are not German citizens though they may become naturalized in the regular way. The inhabitants are governed, as far as possible, through the native organization. Native customary law controls in minor legal matters and in more important cases in which the natives are concerned the German courts are assisted by native assessors. German imperial law controls the relations of German citizens and of foreigners.<sup>8</sup>

Such is the governmental organization of the colonies. What has been the spirit in which it has been administered? We undoubtedly touch here upon the sore spot in German colonial experience, but in criticizing the spirit of the administration we must keep in mind the inexperience of the

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<sup>8</sup>An admirable account of the organization of the German colonies is given by Loeb, "German Colonial Fiscal System," in the *American Economic Association Publications* for 1900.

Germans in colonial affairs and the unfortunate circumstances under which the government assumed control, viz. : as a result of the Arab rebellion of 1888 in East Africa. It was natural that the German army should want to vindicate its title of invincible, and it did so with great severity. Fortunately, Major von Wissmann was made governor of East Africa, and by his policy of "sternness with justice" he soon won the respect and confidence of the natives. But not all his colleagues in the other German colonies nor all his successors in East Africa have shown equal ability. To the strictness of military discipline have been added the restraints of the Prussian bureaucracy. Everything is provided for down to the minutest details, nothing is left to individual initiative. Regulations admirable for the administration of a populous empire and a highly civilized people have been put in force in sparsely populated localities inhabited by semi-savages. German thoroughness has never been better illustrated than in the way the problems of tropical government have been studied, mastered, and provided for—academically. To this adherence to a rigid system of administration must be added the even more unfortunate circumstance of the observance of the social caste system. The ordinary civilian in the colonies feels himself a pariah among the official bureaucrats. Now the German emigrant leaves the Fatherland to escape military conscription and petty beaureaucratic supervision, and he wants to go to a place where there is opportunity to advance socially as well as financially. It is not probable that there would be a large emigration from the Fatherland to the colonies even were the conditions of location and climate all that could be desired.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>See Poulteney Bigelow, *The Children of the Nations*, Chap. IX. Also Witt, *A German Experiment in Colonization* in *Blackwood's Magazine*, Vol. 163. Both give accounts of their personal experience with the excessive officialism of the German colonies.



The characteristics of administration above described were inevitable. When the government was compelled to take over the administration of the colonies, it had no officials familiar with colonial conditions. It was natural for it to send men who had proved their efficiency in the home service, and it is hard for a man to shake off the traditions of his training. To prepare the personnel of the colonial administration for greater efficiency, courses are now given in some of the German universities, e. g., the Oriental Seminar in the University of Berlin, in tropical botany and hygiene, ethnology, native languages and institutions, and kindred subjects. Better still, there has been founded at Witzenhausen, near Göttingen, a colonial school under semiprivate auspices for the purpose of developing experts in all forms of tropical industries, agricultural, commercial, mining, etc. Not only are the subjects already enumerated taught but all kinds of manual trades, and the emphasis during the course is placed upon the *character* of the student rather than his knowledge. So successful has the school been in developing the kind of men needed in the plantations, that the demand for its graduates, not only in the colonies but in Brazil, Turkey, and elsewhere, greatly exceeds the supply. Unfortunately, as yet, the colonial officials are not compelled to prepare themselves in these directions. This is due to the fact that there is not a great demand for positions in the colonies. In fact, in order to attract good material to the colonial service, it has been found necessary to pay larger salaries, to give bigger pensions, and to allow longer vacations than would be given for relatively similar positions at home. These inducements are absolutely necessary. The unhealthfulness of the climate, the severance of home ties, the monotony of the work, the depressing influence of caste, all combine to make service in the colonies unattractive. Many officials become melancholic; some insane. The government, therefore, offers comparatively frequent vacations to

home with pay, a larger pension than would be received for the same position at home and in one-half the time, and provision for the maintenance of the families of officials who die in the service or who die within six years of their retirement from the colonial service if their death has been the result of disease acquired during that service. The government is sincerely anxious to improve the efficiency of the colonial service and to remove its defects, particularly the bureaucratic rigidity, and with time and experience the Germans will, no doubt, prove to be one of the most civilizing influences in the contact of superior with inferior races. One of the most able and experienced British colonial administrators writes, and we agree with the latter part of his statement, "It will be seen that the unmixed Teuton, Dutchman or German, is on first contact with the subject races apt to be harsh and even brutal, but that he is no fool, but wins the respect of the negro or Asiatic, who admire brute force, while his own good nature in time induces a softening of manners when the native has ceased to rebel and begun to cringe. There is this that is hopeful and wholesome about the Germans; they are quick to realize their own defects and equally quick to amend them. As in commerce, so in government, they observe, learn, and master the best principles. The politician would be very shortsighted who underrated the greatness of the German character or reckoned on the evanescence of German dominion in strange lands."<sup>10</sup>

The most difficult problem of the tropics is the labor problem, and it has proved to be a serious obstacle to German progress. The Germans at first tried the wage system, but it broke down completely for as already mentioned, the native has few wants, and as soon as he had earned enough to supply those he stopped work. The supply of labor, therefore, was neither steady nor efficient. The Germans also tried

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<sup>10</sup>Sir H. H. Johnston, *The Colonization of Africa*, Chap. XIV.

imported Melanesian labor, especially in New Guinea, but it proved more expensive and inefficient than even wage labor. They then resorted to the system which alone seems to flourish in the tropics, viz.: coolie labor, and they imported Chinese and Javanese from Singapore and Batavia. But after the first experiment, the British and Dutch governments refused to allow any more recruitments, alleging, as reasons, the unhealthy climate and the number of deaths that had taken place. This roused the resentment of the Germans, especially against the British, the Germans charging that the British action was inspired by national jealousy, and that the deaths were due to the fact that the British had sent old and sick coolies to the German colonies. The Germans then turned their attention to devising some system of forced labor and making it acceptable to the philanthropists at home. The culture system of the Dutch in Java was to be the model, i. e., the enforcement of native labor through the native governmental organization controlled by the chiefs. But there is a big difference between the degree of civilization of the Javanese and that of Papuans and Bantus. And more important still, while the Javanese obey their chiefs without murmur, no such degree of despotic power is within the control of the chiefs of the Bantus and Papuans. No general system of forced labor, however, has yet been attempted because of opposition at home. It looks too much like a form of slavery, and a government that is making efforts to destroy the slave-trade can hardly afford to introduce what to the European philanthropist at least looks like another kind of slavery. Most of the German administrators, however, favor some form of forced labor, and apparently they are having more success than formerly in making converts to their views. It is probable,



therefore, that the near future will see forced labor in operation.<sup>11</sup>

The education of the natives of the German possessions is not in a very advanced stage. Until recently, it was almost wholly in the hands of the missionaries, Evangelical and Catholic, who have accomplished admirable results. The German missionaries have been models to the bureaucrats in their sane and liberal treatment of the natives. They won their confidence and have emphasized the industrial rather than the religious side of their work teaching them various forms of manual labor and, better still, getting them to do continuous work. As most of the natives of both German East and West Africa are Muhammadans and have refused to let their children attend the missionary schools for fear of conversion, the government has established schools in nearly all the colonies which imitate the missionary schools in emphasizing industrial education. The agricultural stations, especially in East Africa, have been very successful in developing modern methods of agriculture among the natives. While the aim is not to interfere with the customs of the natives, the slave-trade is prohibited and polygamy is discouraged and will probably be soon a thing of the past.

Despite the admittedly good results which the Germans have accomplished in developing the possibilities of their colonies through public works, they are undoubtedly disappointed with their colonial experience. The early dreams of spice islands and gold mines have not been realized, nor have any populous communities been settled where the German language is supreme and German customs hold sway. The German Imperialist, therefore, is considering the security of the tenure of those powers that possess better real

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<sup>11</sup>See the three admirable articles by Albert G. Keller, "The Colonial Policy of the Germans," in the *Yale Review*, Nos. X and XI. Together they form the best discussion of German colonization in English.

estate, particularly Great Britain. A catastrophe to her could hardly but be of benefit to him. Despite the Monroe Doctrine, hopeful eyes are still cast toward Brazil where there are more than a quarter-million Germans settled compactly in the states of Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul and who remain unassimilated by the Portuguese.<sup>12</sup> But it is particularly to Asiatic Turkey that the German Imperialist turns his most covetous glances. A policy of steadfast friendliness to the Porte has brought rich returns in the form of railroad concessions, mining grants, permits for schools and for the establishment of colonies. When one remembers the fertility of that country in the ancient days there can be no doubt of its possibilities under the security of European administration and the incentive of European enterprise. No state has made such rapid progress in extending its influence in Asiatic Turkey during the past decade as Germany. And when the final dissolution comes, no state will be in better position to demand its share of the Sick Man's estate.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>See Stephen Bonsal, "Greater Germany in South America," in the *North-American Review* for 1902.

<sup>13</sup>Reinsch, *World Politics*. Part IV.

## THE QUESTION OF POLICY FOR AMERICAN SHIPPING

WILLIAM W. BATES

NOW THAT the Isthmian Canal question is settled, it is believed by many that the next grand question to consider seriously is that of policy for American navigation. Surely our government is not going into the transit business for the profit on passing the vessels of the world through the Isthmus of Panamá. De Lesseps got the Egyptians and the French into the project of the Suez Canal, but when the work was completed, there were no Egyptian or French vessels, worth estimation, suitable to use it, nor are there many yet. In reality, the French dug the Suez Canal for Great Britain, she having the adapted vessels, as we shall dig the more expensive channel at Panamá, unless Congress shall so legislate in behalf of shipping that there shall be an American, as well as a British, use for the work. There was a time in our history when Congress could be depended on for prompt action where commerce and navigation were concerned, but only a few of our people remember that time, it is so long ago. It is possible, however, that proper action will be taken, but how promptly no one can foretell. Of course, when built, there will be a naval and a domestic use for the canal, but it will be a sore disappointment, if there shall be little or no use for it as a facilitation of our foreign trade, for which we need ten times our present marine.

About the history and management of our marine affairs, it is proposed to answer several questions in this article, though it would take a book to tell the whole story.\*

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\*See "American Navigation," by the writer, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York, 1902.



We have two grand divisions of vessel transportation, the domestic or that between our own ports; and the foreign carrying trade and that to and from foreign countries; and our policy is different for each of these trades—why is this, and how came it about?

The domestic carrying trade, having absolute protection, is in a flourishing condition; but the foreign carrying trade, having no protection whatever, is in a ruined state and has not prospered for many years—why is the domestic trade favored and the foreign trade discouraged by the government, while the Constitution provides for equality of rights for all trades through parity of rights for all persons?

Originally, we had the same policy for both trades, and, being protective, both flourished—why was this policy changed—protection withdrawn as to the foreign trade—and, this being found detrimental, why is it continued?

Does the Constitution empower Congress to provide protection to navigation as an industry, and, if so, by what means?

What are the principles of a proper shipping policy for the United States?

These questions may be answered in least compass by stating the facts regarding our navigation laws—their origin, necessity, the compact for them, their enactment, success, partial and full suspension, and the influence upon our Government now exercised by foreign nations, in consequence of conventions for what is called “maritime reciprocity.”

Long before the independence of the original states the people indulged the idea that vessels of their own engaged in their own trade would be profitable, and many were built and used. While their right to do this was natural and indisputable, the mother country disapproved of it, and specially of the acts passed to encourage shipbuilding and navigation. These laws levied discriminative duties of ton-

nage, and even of tariff, intended to favor domestic vessels, and discourage foreign. On complaint of British ship-owners the King soon nullified them as to British vessels. Therein originated British jealousy of American shipping which has pursued its object ever since down to the present time.

Immediately after the peace of 1783, a royal proclamation closed all British-American ports, including the West-Indian, to vessels of the United States. British vessels only were allowed in this traffic. This adverse action created excitement from North to South, and was strongly resented. A committee of the Continental Congress, headed by Thomas Jefferson, considered the subject and recommended a uniform regulation of commerce, by consent of the several states; that, by means of discriminating duties of tonnage, or of tariff, or by port regulations, power could be used to enforce the rights of our shipping, and to encourage its increase. But this movement failed through the disposition of the state legislatures to disagree to the terms of Congress, and to insist upon their own. About the same time the application of Congress for authority to levy tariff duties on imports failed also; and, plainly, a new government was seen to be necessary for several reasons, but these two were the principal. Meantime the states, each for itself, passed navigation laws based on the principle of preference to domestic vessels, discrimination against foreign. As each state was foreign to the others, it soon developed that only a uniform system of shipping law would ever justly promote the growth, or ensure the success and permanence, of an American marine.

When the Constitutional Convention assembled the several states had regulations as follows:

(1) Discriminating tonnage duties: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maryland, and Georgia.

(2) Discriminating tonnage and tariff duties: New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

(3) Tonnage duties only: New Jersey and Delaware.

The discriminative tonnage duties of all the states averaged about 60 cents a ton. New York and Virginia discriminated against British vessels in excess of other foreign. Maryland and Virginia favored the Dutch and French on account of treaties. Reciprocation of exemption from duties had been introduced between several states.

Called as it was largely on account of the shipping situation, ship protection was a prominent subject. Different drafts of constitutions offered for consideration provided for power to enact regulations of commerce, not only between the states, but with foreign countries. In short, to effect the union desired, the federal government necessarily took over the ship protection of the states, and virtually promised to perpetuate it through the power to regulate commerce, which was provided in the Constitution for that purpose. All the debate there was turned upon the point whether navigation laws should require a two-thirds or a majority vote. Mr. Gorham of Massachusetts thus closed the discussion:

"If the government is to be so fettered as to be unable to relieve the Eastern states, what motive can they have to join it, and thereby tie their own hands from measures, which they could otherwise take for themselves? The Eastern states were not led to strengthen the Union by fear for their own safety. He deprecated the consequences of disunion, but if it should take place it was the southern part of the continent that had the most reason to dread them. He urged the improbability of a combination against the interest of the Southern states, the different situations of the Northern and Middle states being a security against it. It was, moreover, certain that foreign ships would never be



altogether excluded, especially those of nations in treaty with us."

The two-thirds clause reported was then struck out, and clause 3 of section 8 of article I of the Constitution, empowering Congress to regulate commerce for the purpose of creating and maintaining an American marine, was agreed upon with unanimity. No other industry was thus distinguished. Moreover, this grant is placed third in the list of enumerated powers, only the revenue authority preceding it: "To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes."

This clause authorizes navigation acts for the admission or exclusion of foreign vessels, for the discriminative taxation of their tonnage or their cargoes, and any other regulation to equalize the footing-in-fact of our own with foreign vessels, for the control of competition and rivalry.

That Congress, at its first and early sessions, redeemed its virtual promise to care for the merchant marine is generally known. In a few years a system of commercial regulations was established and proved successful. The laws gave preference to our own vessels and discriminated against foreign, both in tonnage and in tariff charges. The British government, though it had stronger ship protection, showed resentment, ceased to execute the treaty of 1783, and began to molest our commerce. It sought a treaty which should nullify our ship protection. The Jay treaty was made, 1794, agreeing not to increase protective duties against British vessels and to allow England to countervail our own. This she did excessively and unfairly, but the avails were considerable.

The war with France then raging made an occasion to harass our commerce, seize our vessels and cargoes, press our seamen into men-of-war, and finally to provoke the war of 1812. Surely, this course would sweep our ships off the ocean, but more British flags were struck in this war, last-

ing about two years, than in the sea-fighting of a century before. Our ship protection had done just what the British knew it would—develop a sea power that disregarded the prestige and might of England.

When peace came to be made, severe terms must be imposed. The Canadian boundary line must be the south shore of the great lakes; there must be a suppression of ship protection in direct commerce on both sides. Surely then, with the West Indies closed, the British flag would flourish. On shipping protection our commissioners gave way. A convention was agreed upon for four years, removing protection on both sides in direct transatlantic trade, the ports of the West Indies and North-American colonies continuing shut. An act was passed, 1815, authorizing the convention, which, as it had to be in general terms, opened our defenses to all nations desirous of reciprocity in the removal of protective regulations, in direct trade. Thus Britain entered a wedge for the modification, and ultimately for the reversion, of our well-considered and successful shipping policy. She had the convention time extended in 1818, and in 1827, and the matter now rests on indefinite time, terminable on one year's notice. A few other nations also obtained direct "reciprocity."

Determined on getting the West Indies opened, Congress, in 1818, closed our ports to vessels coming from all shut ports. This act, supplemented in 1820, deprived England of any advantage under the convention, and was well calculated to obtain its object. In 1822, Norway passed an ordinance and proposed reciprocity in the indirect trade—the one country to admit to entry the vessels of the other from any port in the world, with the products of any country. At that time, under an act of 1817, foreign flags were confined to direct trade. Congress refused the proposal. In 1825, the British Parliament, borrowing the Norwegian idea, passed an act looking to the opening of West-Indian

ports, on condition that we permit British vessels to come from every country, with the productions of every people. As this was, in terms, unequal reciprocation, Congress rejected the overture. In 1828, under executive pressure, Congress passed an act for full reciprocity, opening our ports to vessels of all flags, from all countries, with the merchandise of all nations, and suspending our ship-protecting regulations of all sorts, with respect to all countries meeting this action. Great Britain declined then to reciprocate, but, on passage of a special act in 1830, opened her West-Indian ports at last. Our acts of 1818-20 caused this change in her policy. We gained scarcely anything, because she put up the tariff in the islands to prevent that result. In 1849, England felt obliged to modify her laws and take advantage of our act of 1828, but no treaty or convention was made.

After 1828, according as foreign countries demanded the benefits of the act, our shipping policy suffered a change from protective to non-protective, as to foreign trade. In 1829, our vessels were carrying nearly ninety per cent. of our commerce, but now only nine. Before the Civil War our loss of carriage was twenty-four per cent. (of the whole), during the war it was thirty-eight per cent., and since 1870, twenty-six and a half—a reaction occurring after the war. For our government it should be said, that, though some feared the consequences, it did not suppose material injury would follow the change of policy—begun in 1815, completed in 1828, and gradually applied since. In 1828, it was taken in by a glittering and sounding generality, “maritime reciprocity,” in theory an elegant appellation, suggestive of comity, equitable commerce, and high civilization, but in practise these grand ideas changed into illusion, artifice, and imposition. Most reciprocants and beneficiaries put off one sort of protection only to put on another, worsting our marine by elusive and unfair expedients.



There is scarce a pretension now that non-protection is just the thing for shipping of every country. Every aspiring nation having a convention with us for reciprocity has resorted openly to any kind of protection that seems desirable, to any extent deemed prudent—subsidies, bounties, underwriting, and mercantile discriminations being the principal.

It may be thus seen that a universal shipping policy, in its practise, is irrational and absurd. It is but a plausible catchpenny conceit. Each nation must consider its own case, and protect as may be necessary; for nothing is surer than that one nation, if it can, will beat and wreck the marine of another. The merchants and underwriters of a rival will always give preference to that rival's flag. Of perfect disinterestedness man is incapable. No nation can depend upon fair play from others for the development of its shipping power, yet we have leaned upon this reed for many years, as if it were a pillar of stone.

All our shipping conventions have overrun their times, and are now terminable on one year's notice. Owing to the action of foreign nations, but twenty-two out of forty-two remain. We were twenty-six years without such agreements, and none has ever been of benefit to our marine.

The act of 1828 has been considered an experiment in conciliation—mainly intended to induce England to open her West-Indian ports—but it has never been considered in the light of its unconstitutionality. It was a plain infraction of compact, a clear breach of trust, a violation of state and individual rights, and can not be excused on any ground of national necessity. Navigation laws were promised as a condition of union. Congress had no prerogative to nullify the rights and thereby sacrifice the shipping interest of the seaboard states. It held in trust for them the power that each might, and would have exercised for the protection of its vessels. Its plain duty was to discharge that trust with

fidelity. It is its bounden duty now to repeal the wrongful act, and to put an end to suspension of navigation laws in the interest of, or for the conciliation of, any other nation. We are well able to honor our Constitution, and to carry out the compact of union. The right of the American ship to preference in American commerce is so just, so essential to national welfare that its rights must be redeemed and secured, even if it tasks the national power.

The President has recently said: "I think we of the United States can not keep too fresh in our minds the fact that the men responsible for the government are not representatives of the people, but the people themselves, and that therefore heavy is the responsibility that lies upon the people and upon all those who do most toward shaping the thought of the people."

The people had nothing to do with violating the compact of the union in the act of 1828. The question of stripping our marine in the foreign trade of its protection was not an issue of the election that landed John Quincy Adams in the White House and made Henry Clay secretary of state. These two politicians, more than all the people besides, were responsible for the change of policy which has brought ruin to our navigation. In 1896, a majority of the people voted that the government change back to original shipping policy, but two of the people, William McKinley and Marcus A. Hanna, decided to disregard the voice of the majority, and eight more years have been given to foreign nations for their exploitation of our commerce, our consanguineous rival taking the cream of it. It is time some agency, patriotic and powerful, took it in hand to rule our affairs in respect to shipping. It would seem to be "up to" Congress and the executive to undo at least the disservice of Adams and Clay.

The following tables show the extent to which certain nations are exploiting our foreign trade and transportation:

## EXPORTS OF MERCHANDISE BY SHIPS OF PRINCIPAL FLAGS, 1902.

Flags in bene- ficial order.	Carried to home ports.	Carried to colonial ports.	Carried to other countries.	Total value carried.	Carried home and colonies.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Per cent.
Norwegian ....	492,726	.....	31,148,376	31,641,102	01.55
Belgian .....	163,948	.....	12,791,745	17,955,693	28.76
Italian .....	12,741,284	1,100	9,246,191	21,988,575	57.95
British .....	474,483,414	69,049,035	241,861,774	785,393,223	69.20
German .....	104,118,642	6,349	40,525,549	144,650,540	71.98
French .....	19,403,266	31,905	5,707,873	25,143,044	77.29
Dutch .....	31,721,606	606,948	6,776,876	39,105,430	82.67
Above flags....	648,124,886	69,695,337	348,057,384	1,065,877,607	Av. 67.34
Other foreign flags .....				92,553,097	
American .....		527,550	80,555,977	81,083,527	
Total flags				1,239,514,231	

## IMPORTS OF MERCHANDISE BY SHIPS OF PRINCIPAL FLAGS, 1902.

Flags in bene- ficial order.	Brought from home ports.	Brought from colo- nial ports.	Brought from other countries.	Total value carried.	Carried home and colonies.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Per cent.
Norwegian ....	97,218	.....	27,657,839	27,755,057	00.35
Belgian .....	2,338,878	.....	16,870,387	19,209,265	12.17
British .....	143,664,426	58,016,958	250,039,207	451,720,591	44.64
Dutch .....	11,041,625	2,611,364	15,942,376	29,595,365	46.13
German .....	62,107,425	.....	45,972,480	108,079,905	57.46
Italian .....	7,277,909	.....	4,473,853	11,751,762	61.93
French .....	37,925,501	43,972	20,348,956	58,318,429	65.10
Above flags ...	264,452,982	60,672,294	381,305,098	706,430,374	Av. 46.02
Other foreign flags .....				38,384,598	
American .....		59,093	102,128,909	102,188,002	
				847,002,974	

Norway was the first beneficiary of the act of 1828. The carrying done for us by her large fleet all belongs to our own vessels, there being no trade or transportation to reciprocate with her. We carry to, and bring from her nothing whatever. She carries \$64.21 of our exports to countries not under her flag for each dollar's worth she transports home. She brings \$284.49 of our imports from countries not her own for each dollar's worth she brings from home. She does this by no just right, only by a privilege terminable at our pleasure on notice of a single year.



Belgium carries both ways much merchandise in excess of her proper trade with us. She carries to other ports than her own 71.24 per cent. and brings from such ports 87.83 per cent. None of this transportation belongs to her marine by right, but by right belongs to our own.

British carrying is peculiar. They take the larger part—69.20 per cent.—to home and colonial ports; while they bring the larger part from countries not their own—56.36 per cent. Of our total exports they carry off 63.36 per cent.; of our total imports they bring 53.21 per cent. Of our exports to non-British countries by the seven nations, 69.48 per cent. go by British ships, of the imports from such countries, 65.57 per cent. arrives under the British flag. Of our entire sea carriage in foreign trade, 58.81 per cent. is done by British shipping. This has not resulted from economic law, but by a persistent warfare of protective expedients against a marine entirely unprotected, in consequence of British antagonism and through British diplomacy.

Germany is closely following England in utilizing our commerce to build up her sea power. The acumen of German rule, and the loyalty of German pride throughout the world, combine to foster German shipping. But this does not yet figure largely in our indirect trade. Of our exports it carries 71.98 per cent. to home and colonial ports; and thence it brings 57.46 per cent. of all she lands in ours.

Italy, like France, protects by bounties. Both countries aim to increase their marines at our expense. Of our exports, Italians carry to countries not their own 42.05 per cent. of what they take; and of imports they bring from such countries 38.07 per cent. of what they land here.

France is badly situated. The British government in 1860 sent a parliamentary commission to Louis Napoleon to treat for reciprocity in the admission of vessels and cargoes from "the ports of the world." This done, the French marine soon declined: The British merchant supplanted the

French. France must have shipping power, or lose her rank—perhaps, finally, her independence. She resorted to bounties, but these are found a poor substitute for the exclusion she had maintained to advantage. Of our exports by French ships, 22.71 per cent. goes to ports not her own; of our imports in return, 34.90 come from such places. The carrying lost in her own trade is recouped in ours.

Holland carries least to countries not her own—17.33 per cent. From such countries she brings much more—53.87 per cent. She was the first nation to accord our flag fair play on the ocean.

The exploitation by other foreign flags, principally the Danish and Spanish, is not large. The percentage for exports is 7.46, and for imports, 4.53 of entire trade. Summing up the figures, the seven flags have carried, of exports to home and colonial ports, 67.34 per cent., and to ports of other nations, 32.66; of imports they have brought from home and colonial ports, 46.02 per cent., and from those of other countries, 53.98 per cent. Of our commerce indirectly carried, their proportion is 41.16 per cent. Were all the flags included, the proportion of indirect carriage would be not less than 42 per cent.—perhaps 43. We carry of direct and indirect about nine per cent.; adding this to the 42 of indirect not belonging to foreign vessels makes 51 per cent. accounted for. But, in addition to the indirect carriage of these flags, they carry both their own and our proper share of direct commerce, therefore, it may be estimated that American carriage in American commerce should reach the mark of 75 to 80 per cent.—nine to ten times the present proportion.

It has been shown that the method of the Constitution costs the country nothing, being simply the regulation of our commerce defensively. Some good people affect disapproval of this, because its success in our early history created enemies. We should avoid displeasure and save

trouble, say they, by adopting a subsidy policy. This is illogical. We can not resume our carrying trade by any means pleasing to foreign nations. Besides, this suggestion is impractical for the United States; first, because it is not constitutional—no single trade can be subsidized without violating the rights of all the other trades; second, because the Constitution provides a specific power for Congress to exercise for ship protection; third, because the principle of subsidy is not well adapted to nine-tenths of the work to be done; fourth, because if adopted and successful, the people—the real rulers of this country—would not tax themselves, year after year, for the tens, scores, and hundreds of millions of expenditure.

What a ship needs is constant employment. To get this an American ship can not depend upon open competition with the vessels of all flags, but must look to the merchants and underwriters of her own flag, mainly. The need of protection to her employment thus arises. This protection may best be given by the exclusion of foreign vessels from certain trades, as now done in domestic traffic; and as may be done in 40 per cent. of our foreign trade, by requiring foreign vessels with cargoes to come from their own countries only. Ship protection may consist of inducements to foreign shippers of cargo, as in rebates of duties. It may include extraordinary duties of tonnage and of tariff, which shall establish an equality of footing-in-fact with foreign vessels; or other regulations which fix a preference for American vessels.

It is supposed by some that competition alone, open and fair, secures shipping employment. Under a particular flag, it usually does, but the rule fails under promiscuous flags. Our shipping history proves this. Our ships have carried cheapest, safest and speediest, but have disappeared while



doing so.\* In international commerce, the flag of the cargo or of its underwriter usually determines the flag of the carrier. Vessels of the different flags look mainly to the shippers of the same country. To illustrate: French, Italian, German, or American ships look in vain to British merchants and underwriters for freights, of which they control three-fourths in the world, simply because the ship of their own flag is *preferred*. There is no use to bid against preference. The British merchant and shipowner have been 250 years sinking their roots into the soil of every country on the globe. They flourish everywhere. They buy for all markets and ship to them by their own vessels. If a British merchant does your trade, it will go and come under the "Union Jack." If this flag does your carrying, be sure the British merchant and his underwriters will soon supplant yours, and set aside your shipping if you have any. Their ship will carry as low as yours, and preference for their own will prevail. If all nations were but one, human nature is such that distinctions now national would then become geographical or sectional—they would not disappear. It follows, that, to restore our flag to the seas, the foreign merchant must not be permitted to employ his ship in the carriage of our exports and imports to and from all parts of the world. In his dealings with us he must be confined to the commerce and the carrying of his own country as much as possible; and a chance must be made in our commerce for the services of our merchants, shipowners and underwriters—as the plain duty of our government. The time has fully come to reestablish the principle that the carriage of the commerce between any two nations belongs to their vessels. Other nations have no rights in or to it, except by consent of both; for, if one has no ships with

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\*See "American Marine," by the writer, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York, 1892.

which to carry its share of the trade, it has no right to prefer another to its correspondent, whose vessel fairly comes in for the carriage that is lacking. There is no just ground, on the part of any nation, for the vaulting ambition to trade and carry for the world. Policies of this sort contravene the just rights of all nations, and all should resist their operation as monopolistic and intolerable.

The ocean mail service should be considered apart from that of the general marine. Our commercial interests require an ocean post of our own not more than the good of the government itself. Under the powers to create and maintain a navy, and to establish post offices, roads, etc., lines of mail and naval steamers may be provided and paid sufficiently to secure their use. Ample postal fleets would constitute about one-tenth of an adequate merchant marine. In the British service the postage returns repay half the subsidies. Mercantile and naval advantage make up the other moiety. With proper regulations of trade and travel, the expense of the service would be less than under subsidy alone.

The shipping question has been before the country thirty-five years. At first, it was supposed Congress would soon do its duty, and shipping people indulged in the illusions of hope. But time passed and hope moderated. Certain misguided friends of shipping petitioned for bounties. That deadened effort the country over, sixty millions of such demands then being extant, but conventions were held and Congress urged to action. In 1891, after a bounty bill had been defeated, the cause seemed lost on bounty lines. It was also developed that a portion of the press for one reason or another, opposed the disturbance of the foreign interest that holds a vise-like grasp upon our commerce. This was a revelation to our politicians, and some took care of their fences right away. The truth came home to them that commerce and navigation are inseparable interests; that,

abroad, many merchants are also shipowners; that American ships implied American merchants, and the aliens doing our trade—of export as well as import—would oppose strenuously measures of any kind calculated to encourage the rebuilding of our marine. Foreign merchants and shipowners and their agents now abound in our maritime associations, boards of trade, and chambers of commerce, and their sentiment often goes forth as American. In short, our situation, consequent upon letting our foreign trade fall into rival hands, brings vividly to mind the caution of Thomas Jefferson in 1791, to wit:

“If particular nations grasp at undue shares of our commerce, and more especially, if they seize on the means of the United States, to convert them into aliment for their own strength, and withdraw them entirely from the support of those to whom they *belong*, defensive and protective measures become necessary on the part of the nation whose marine resources are thus invaded; or it will be disarmed of its defense, its productions will be at the mercy of the nation which has possessed itself exclusively of the means of carrying them, and its *politics* may be influenced by those who command its commerce.”

After all their care for navigation, it is improbable that any of the fathers ever thought the time would come when Mr. Jefferson's tact and foresight would be appreciated as they deserve to be today, when nine-tenths of our commerce, as well as our navigation, are in the hands of our rivals. Whether this alien interest is destined to prove too masterful for us remains to be seen. It has held the upper hand so long, that relief from its grasp will be a striking evidence that Providence intended the United States to be and remain an independent nation.



## ENGLISH "NATURALISM"

PAULINE CARRINGTON BOUVE

OF ALL the essays contained in *Le Roman Naturaliste*, that one headed "English Naturalism; A Study of George Eliot," may be to English readers the most interesting of all the brilliant studies upon literature in the volume.

The starting point of this essay is the startling announcement that George Eliot is comparatively unknown to the French; that only about one out of a hundred French readers has any acquaintance with the works of the greatest English novelist since the days of Richardson. Every cultivated Frenchman, M. Brunetière tells us, has read *Vanity Fair* and *David Copperfield*. The works of Mrs. Gaskell and Miss Braddon have found their way to France, and the names of Wilkie Collins and Anthony Trollope are well known there. Then, why has George Eliot so few admirers among the French? Why do not those writers who call themselves realists and naturalists acknowledge their English contemporary, who so far surpassed them in their school of art?

Somewhere in *Le Roman Naturaliste*, Zola is described as one who "has produced much, thought some, but who has never read." Perhaps this may account for the fact that he does not accord to the great English woman the honor, justly hers, of having lifted the standard of Naturalism in England. "Surely," says M. Brunetière, "had he known 'Silas Marner' and 'Middlemarch' he would have taken care not to write what he did write about Protestant *littérateurs*."

To understand the work of an artist it is necessary for us to comprehend the motive that prompted the effort, as well as the laws by which that effort was controlled. George Eliot laid bare the mainspring of her work and the founda-

tion upon which she built when she said: "I aspire only to represent faithfully men and things as they are reflected in my mind. The mirror is certainly defective; the contours there may sometimes be false, the images indistinct; but I consider myself as absolutely bound to show you exactly what is reflected there as if I stood upon the witness stand and made my deposition upon oath." It is upon this, as the cornerstone of his analysis, that the critic draws his deductions and compares this conscientious design with that of certain contemporary French writers who call themselves naturalists.

"With the exception of admitting any possible defectiveness of the mirror," remarks M. Brunetière, "this is the creed of our naturalists of today. But what motive do they give for so often reflecting only the odious, the ugly, or the trivial? George Eliot would have replied to this question: "I discern an inexhaustible source of interest in these faithful representations of a monotonous existence which has been the lot of so many more of my fellow beings than a life of opulence, poverty, tragic sufferings, or brilliant actions. I turn without regret from your prophets, your heroes, to contemplate an old woman bending over her pot of flowers or eating her solitary dinner."

It is this sincere feeling for and with the commonplace duties, actions, and aspects of life that makes the essential difference between French and English Naturalism. It is the interior of the mental and spiritual life, rather than the accurate and minute description of material interiors that lifts Naturalism to a higher plane. It is love for the life depicted and those who live it that is the vitalizing force of these works of "naturalistic art."

"No one," observes M. Brunetière, "has more deliberately limited the domain of art to the narrow circle of familiar and daily observation," than George Eliot; but from the very beginning she created a gulf between French and

English Naturalism. She sympathized with the everyday, commonplace people she wrote about, and thereby elevated the school of English Naturalism. French Naturalism, on the other hand, "breathes only disdain and contempt for its Bouvard and Pécuchet. I have," continues M. Brunetière, "largely and gladly praised Flaubert for making, if the expression is permissible, a faithful portrayal of life which was a perpetuation of platitude and vulgarity; but here is something better, stronger, as they say nowadays, for out of platitude and vulgarity George Eliot has made nobility."

There is a regret in the very next words that shows how earnest the French critic is in his aspirations for French literature: "I am afraid our naturalists only partially understand that there exists some other measure of man's worth than the gauge of education and intelligence; and that beauty, or the attraction exercised upon the senses, is not the sole standard of woman's worth."

In *Le Roman Naturaliste*, the critic quotes an astonishing phrase from one of Zola's works, which shows how jaundiced the views of a Frenchman who has adopted the "entirely materialistic art" may become. Here is the quotation: "Look into a salon. I speak in all sincerity; if you would write down the honest confessions of the guests there, you would leave a document that would scandalize thieves and assassins."

No literary critic of our age has so clearly demonstrated the fact that personal individuality is a factor in the lasting influence of literature as he whose essays lie before us; no other has so closely analyzed the reasons for the influence of this or that school of literature. His utterances bear weight, and his testimony is conclusive when he says of George Eliot: "The secret of her strength is in that sympathy of intelligence enlightened by love that softly descends to the level of others, and without affectation puts itself in contact with those whom it wishes to comprehend—that



sympathy which in reality has always been and always will be the instrument of psychological analysis; and which neither scalpel nor compass will ever replace."

"If you have not read Adam Bede," says M. Brunetière, "you may know—from having heard it told or from having seen examples round about you—that the consequences of a single fault may grow in complication until they lead to crime; but you do not know *how* that is done, by what dull conspiracy of circumstances, or by what subtle working of interior perversion. If you have not read Silas Marner, you may know—in a speculative fashion—that one passion can drive out another, and that a sudden transformation may be accomplished in the human soul; but you do not know how it is done, nor how small, insignificant, and almost null is that part of the process which you know only as chance. But here we find ourselves in the presence of a philosophy which enters all things, and that it is nothing less than a conception of life that the novelist has given us. One of the author's superior qualifications, compared with Flaubert—as also with the author of *Jane Eyre*—is that she has never retained any spite against existence. This is one of the distinguishing marks of true greatness."

It is a significant mark of the times that such a critic as M. Brunetière does not believe in any physical, moral, or esthetic right which would permit a man to shirk any responsibility he might assume, or which might be thrust upon him, and attribute the blame to circumstance. "Our actions react upon ourselves," he says, "as much as we act for them. They restrict our future liberty in the web of their consequences. We have in our power only the commencement of our conduct; the rest follows, unrolling and unchaining itself. . . . I regret that *Romola*, the scene of which George Eliot, with the unfortunate peculiarity that an author at times displays, placed at Florence during the time of Savonarola, is such tedious reading, and of such

special archeological interest. I advise a profound study of the character of *Tito Melema* to those who might be tempted to confound the morals of utility with those of self-interest, or the morals of egoism with those of solidarity. If they have the courage to read, they will be repaid for their labor. I believe that I have shown that I did not deceive myself in saying that sympathy, the sympathy of intelligence and of heart at the same time, was the soul of this Naturalism. If one should wish to prove that George Eliot, as much as anyone, possessed the gift of that bitter irony, sarcastic and restrained, in which the English excel, nothing would be more easy. But it is sufficient to say that in the art of saying things that are sharp, with simplicity and strength, she may rank with the first of English humorists."

M. Brunetière discovers that in George Eliot indulgence and raillery temper each other, the indulgent spirit softening what in the raillery alone would seem too sharp, and the raillery, on the other hand, containing and restricting what might be called the overflowing of sympathy. Indeed, this superfluity of sympathy was the great fault of Charles Dickens; on the other hand, it was Thackeray's weakness to be too bitter in his irony. George Eliot possesses a wonderful mingling of both spirits; they sustain themselves and maintain an equable balance of art.

"It is the *chef-d'oeuvre* of art to call forth shadows and shades of impression, and to melt them," says M. Brunetière. "One may admit," he continues, "that if she had been less irresistibly attracted toward the speculations that are only philosophical, even metaphysical, she would never have written *The Impressions of Theophrastus Such*, or even certain chapters of *Daniel Deronda*, perhaps. But, reciprocally, I hold it for certain that, had she been less familiar with the great school of English positive psychology, she would not have written *Adam Bede* or *Silas Marner*. It

happened to her, then, that at the end of her career, when between fifty and sixty years of age, she possessed the faults of her qualities still; but she had possessed, as some sort of compensation, between fifty and forty, the best qualities of her faults. And as we owe to her great and incomparable qualities three or four masterpieces of inimitable originality, we have almost to praise her for having had those faults. The merits of composition, with one or two possible exceptions, are the distinguishing fault of contemporary English Naturalism; on the other hand, in French Naturalism, also with one or two exceptions, we invariably miss that sympathy which will make the humble characters of the English novel—the carpenters and weavers of George Eliot—live forever."

Which of these two seemingly incompatible merits will live the longer we do not know. "Who will be able, if ever, to weld them together, we do not know either. This is the esthetic problem that confronts the novelists of the future."



## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

WE HAVE received a communication from Ouray, Colorado, signed "Reader." If the author desires it published, he must send his full name and address, the name not to be published if the writer does not wish it. In no circumstance can we pay attention to anonymous communications.

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ENGLAND is trying to solve its labor problem in South Africa by importing Chinese laborers. This is a short-sighted policy that will bring its own penalty. If England is bound to get cheap labor to do its work in Africa, there are some 5,000,000 of Kaffirs already there. This may temporarily furnish more disciplined and cheap labor, but it will only make more difficult the problem of the future, and the continued importation of coolies will make South Africa a coolie-Kaffir country where civilized laborers will not go. By the policy of importing Chinese, England is creating for itself in South Africa both a labor and a race problem.

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THE EDITOR of the *Protectionist* has called our attention to the fact that the article by Mr. Walter J. Ballard, which was criticized in our April number, was a signed article, for the views of which the magazine is not responsible. We are glad to learn that the *Protectionist* does not endorse the theory of balance of trade set forth by Mr. Ballard. We submit, however, that its prominence suggested editorial approval. We are glad to have that impression corrected and also to correct it as far as it was conveyed in our criticism. The idea presented by Mr. Ballard is one of the exploded fallacies of the mercantile system, and should not be permitted, even remotely, to pass as a part of true protection doctrine.

THE HOUSE has passed a bill providing for the admission to statehood, of Oklahoma and Indian Territory under the name of Oklahoma, and of Arizona and New Mexico as Arizona. This is the first step toward adding from six to ten members to the United States Senate from practically uncivilized communities. These two States, which are little more than cattle ranges and mining camps, will have as much representation in the United States as New York and Pennsylvania. Any reason for admitting these territories to statehood would apply to Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and, very soon, to the Philippines. The policy of making mining camps into States, and taking military possession of foreign territory, may be expected to lead soon to the annexation of Cuba as two States, and may eventually give semi-barbarians ascendancy in the government of the United States.

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IN ITS issue of April 15, *American Industries* devotes a part of its front page to a picture of Judge Parker, and nearly nine columns of matter to legal decisions rendered by him on questions affecting wages and the rights of corporations. This pronounced friendly attitude to Judge Parker is significant in view of the fact that a large majority of the members of the National Association of Manufacturers are Republicans. So far as this association represents the manufacturing interests of the country, the manufacturers are not enthusiastic for Mr. Roosevelt. This tendency of business interests to favor Parker does not indicate any change of confidence in the industrial policy of the Republican party, but rather loss of faith in Mr. Roosevelt as a safe representative of the policy of protection and peace, the cardinal doctrines for which that party stands.

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NEBRASKA now has an anti-merger suit. Its recent anti-trust law is to be utilized to make the Burlington and Kan-

sas City & Omaha railways dissolve their merged relation. If this continues it will not be long before the railways of the country will be cut into disconnected short lines. When that time comes the public will have a new grievance. The expense of everything will be greater, and the shippers and traveling public will have to pay the piper. Then we may expect to hear a new cry for the government ownership of railways. It is more than probable that the Nebraska suit, like the recent Merger case, is largely for political purposes. With the apparent success of the President in this field of political enterprise, it is not surprising to see it imitated in Nebraska, and in many other States, especially in the West.

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IN THE *Columbian Law Review* for May, Professor Canfield reviews the Merger decision from a legal point of view. His conclusion is that the opinion of the court is wrong in principle and is a wrong interpretation of the anti-trust act; a wrong interpretation of the powers of Congress of the Constitution, and "in its full length and breadth is absolutely indefensible and violative of fundamental principle." He thinks the Supreme Court as now constituted will not carry the decision to its logical consequence and apply it to all cases. No attack will be made on other large corporations, which the logic of this decision would dissolve. This form of persecution, he thinks, will end with the Northern Securities case. If Professor Canfield's interpretation is correct, the common belief that the Merger case was largely a campaign performance would seem to be well founded, and all signs seem to justify that view.

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THERE is a kind of poetic justice in Russia's misfortune at Port Arthur. In her war with China, Japan took Port Arthur and, according to all the rules of warfare, she was



entitled to keep it. If Japan was not to have it, the stronghold ought to have gone back to China. To take it from Japan and permit it to fall into the hands of Russia was an outrage on the part of Germany and France, and England should have intervened to prevent it. But this ill-gotten fruit is to be of little service to Russia. She has spent large amounts on improving the harbor and defenses, and now, at the very opening of a war with Japan, Russia has practically lost the fortress, and with it Dalny, her only ice-free port. She has lost, also, her prestige and her rank as a first-class power. The whole world disapproved the action of France and Germany, in assenting to Russia's demand for Port Arthur, and England's culpable acquiescence; and the whole world, outside of Russia, will be glad to see Port Arthur again fall into the hands of Japan, who will have the honor of taking it from Russia as she took it from China.

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MR. BRYAN has submitted the New York Democratic platform to a withering analysis. He thinks it is a string of statements intended to say nothing and to mean less. He insists that this platform does not represent the views or even the feelings of the Democratic party. What Mr. Bryan appears honestly to desire is that state and national platforms shall clearly express the position of the Democratic party on great national questions. He thinks the Democrats of the country demand suppression of the trusts, abolition of the tariff, and similar radical measures in domestic and foreign policy. Judging from the speeches of Democratic leaders and the editorial utterances of both the Bryan-Hearst and Cleveland-Parker factions, whatever they may say in their platform, the Democrats are a free trade anti-corporation party. In demanding that the Democratic party declare itself as a trust-busting and free trade party, Mr. Bryan is more honest and no less dangerous to the

national welfare than those who agree with the idea, but seek to hide the fact in a stream of empty generalities.

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THE RECENT speculative corner in cotton, which finally sent Sully, the cotton king, to bankruptcy, has opened the eyes of cotton manufacturers to the fact that, if the cotton industry is to be at all safe from the caprice of gamblers, the supply of cotton must be increased. The Sully performance forced cotton to such an abnormally high price as practically to destroy all profit in cotton manufacture. Such gambling in an important industrial staple is a crime against legitimate industry. To protect the cotton industry of England against such Wall Street performances, the British Cotton Growing Association has decided to try cotton growing in the Sudan and has applied for a royal charter. The company is organized with \$2,500,000 capital in shares of \$5 each, and no profits are to be divided during the first seven years. All the earnings are to be used in the development of the enterprise.

This was to be expected. Whenever a staple product is forced much above its economic price, new efforts are sure to be made to increase the supply from new quarters or to develop equivalent substitutes. The normal manufacture of economic production can not be permanently diverted either by foolish arbitrary laws or abnormal speculation.

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THE IDEA that the next revision of the tariff should be performed by its friends seems very much to trouble the *New York Evening Post*. In all fairness, to whom does the *Post* think such a task should be entrusted? If the editor of the *Post* had to submit to a difficult operation, would he call in a physician who had for years openly threatened to kill him at the first opportunity; or would he call in a physician whom he knew to be interested in saving his life and improving his condition? The *Evening Post*, and its like,

may be very honest citizens, but it is their avowed purpose to murder the tariff at the first opportunity. They never conceal this purpose. Then, why should they be permitted to use the knife on it at all? If a tariff butcher is needed, the party of the *Post* should be called in, but if a skilful scientific operation is to be performed it should not be permitted in the operating room, except under strong guard. Despite all the cynical sneers of the *Post* and its like, there is nothing truer in politics than that, if the American people want the tariff revised and the protective principle preserved, they will entrust the job of the friends of protection. Any other course would be rank idiocy.

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IN HIS address before the National Civic Federation, John Mitchell defended the idea of a joint trade agreement as the essence of trade-unionism. He said there are now 350,000 miners working under conditions fixed by joint agreement. The advantage of this arrangement is invaluable to the workmen; but if trade agreements are to continue and become the rule, they must be lived up to by the men, and not be coercive. One of the objections to joint agreements is that the unions insist that nobody shall be employed except members of their organizations. This is neither economic nor equitable. If the joint agreement is made inseparable from the unionized or closed shop, then it is destined to have a struggle for its existence. The open shop must be a condition of free industry. Monopoly of power can not be entrusted to anybody. It is as dangerous to the laborers and the public when in the hands of trade-unions as when in the hands of moneyed corporations. But the progress of labor-unions during the last twenty years toward higher economic and ethical grounds is very great. The objectionable features are gradually being eliminated and rational business methods adopted. The open shop and



the fair treatment of non-union men is sure sooner or later to become a recognized feature of the unions themselves.

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THANKS to the wise leadership of General Draper and Senator Lodge, Massachusetts has sounded the true note on the vital issue in the coming campaign. The Republican state convention held in Boston passed the following resolution:

Protection, which guards and develops our industries, is a cardinal policy of the Republican party. We insist upon the maintenance of its principles, but we recognize that particular tariff schedules are neither sacred nor immutable. Rates of duty may be altered when changed conditions demand their alteration, but no revision should be undertaken unless it is clear that the benefit will more than compensate the inevitable disturbance of business which attends any revision of tariff schedules. Nor can it be safely intrusted to any other than the party of protection. To intrust it to the Democratic party is to again invite the Democratic disaster and panic of 1893.

This is sound doctrine as well as good policy. Protection is, indeed, the cardinal doctrine of the Republican party. When it abandons that, its claim to existence disappears. Especially sound as well as timely is the declaration that no "revision of tariff of schedules can safely be entrusted to any other than the party of protection." Any mandate for the abolition of protection may, and should, be entrusted to the free-traders; but a revision of the tariff in the interest of protection can be entrusted only to protectionists. It remains to be seen whether the national convention will adopt the Massachusetts idea or the Iowa idea. On this its success in November will largely depend.

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THE REPORTS of the Controller of Currency show an immense increase in the number of small national banks since the passage of the act of March 14, 1900, reducing the

minimum capital to \$25,000. Under this act 1976 new national banks have come into existence. These new banks have an aggregate capital of \$114,591,500. Of the 1976 new banks 1296 belong to the class of small banks made possible by the new act. While Pennsylvania has a larger number than any other state, these new small banks are mostly in the South and West. Only five of them are in New England. Of the 1296, the Eastern States have 168 with an aggregate capital of \$4,374,000; the Southern States have 292, with a total capital of \$7,781,500; the Middle West has 424, with a capital of \$11,071,000; and the Western States and Territories have 361, with \$9,215,000 capital.

While this shows an increase of banking facilities for the country, it does not indicate a stronger banking system. To be sound, the system should be extended on the same principle that productive enterprise is extended, namely, by the development of large and solid concerns, rather than by the multiplication of small and weak concerns. These segregated small banks will serve the purpose well enough during times of prosperity; but they will be found a weak support to business under the pressure of dull times. The merit of a sound currency and safe banking system is its ability to stand the test of depression. In such times, these small banks may be expected to prove a source of weakness rather than of strength.

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IN AN editorial, giving unqualified approval of W. Bourke Cockran's free trade speech in Congress, and quoting some of its most violent free trade passages, the *New York Times* says:

If the business were in itself profitable, no excuse could be offered either for subsidy or for protection. . . . All interference in business by the Government was intended to make an unprofitable business profitable, or to make a

profitable business more so, and in either case at the expense of the public.

This is not from a rabid Bryan-Hearst-Populist source, but from a respectable Parker-Cleveland, conservative journal, yet if this means anything, it means free trade. If this statement of the *Times* were correct, more than half the manufacturing industries of this country are unprofitable and injurious to the public. For instance, every business in Pittsburg needed protection. Is there a person fit to be outside of a lunatic asylum who pretends that the great iron industries of the country are unprofitable, or that their development has been an injury to the country? If the protection to the iron industries of this country had cost twice as much as it did, it would have been a profitable investment for the nation. Without protection, the leading manufacturing industries of this country would not have been here. To whom, then, are they unprofitable? Not to the capitalists who invest in them, not to the laborers employed in them, not to the nation, and not to the consumers of iron and steel. It is such rash statements that make the Democratic party dangerous to the industrial prosperity of the country. If this position represents Parker, Cleveland, Olney, and the so-called "sane," "conservative" Democrats, then, so far as the business safety of the country is concerned, they are no more to be trusted than the advocates of the Kansas City platform.

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THE RECENT speech of Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire is "tiresome" to the *Journal of Commerce* because it emphasizes the fact that the protective policy has been a great feature in our national prosperity and makes this comment:

The fact is that the United States has never yet attained the degree of prosperity to which it is fairly entitled by



the natural advantages that it possesses. Labor here can produce more by the same amount of exertion than elsewhere. That and that alone is what gives it higher wages, measured by the share in the fruits of production that wages will buy.

It is true the natural advantages for profitable production exist in this country; but, as the *Journal* must know, those advantages were beyond the reach of capital and labor until vouchsafed by protection. In open competition with England and some other European countries we could not manufacture our iron, our cotton, or our wool, or make our machinery, or do hardly anything worth doing in the line of manufacture, until the opportunity was created by protection. As the *Journal of Commerce* well knows, it is this development of our manufactures that has given great impetus to our prosperity and constituted our industrial superiority. Mere physical conditions do not constitute industrial opportunity. There can be no economic opportunity to manufacture iron, steel, cotton, wool, wood, silk, and tin until the market possibilities for these products are actualized. The raw material was here, the market was here; but the means of supply were abroad. It was not until the market was protected that the means of supply were possible, and the opportunity for industrial development really existed. We regret that it is "tiresome" to the *Journal of Commerce*, but the fact remains that it was protection to our home market that gave opportunity for our economic development and made our industrial progress possible.

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IT HAS evidently been deemed necessary that some plausible explanation be made of the repeated bond issues during the last Democratic administration. Accordingly, Mr. Cleveland has come to the rescue with an article on the subject in the *Saturday Evening Post*. He gives a detailed account of

the depleted condition of the treasury. On January 17, 1894, he says, "the \$100,000,000 gold reserve had fallen to less than \$70,000,000." Through the sale of \$50,000,000 of bonds, the reserve of March 6, 1894, was again raised to \$107,440,802; in less than three months, this reserve was again down to \$61,878,374. In January, 1895, another \$50,000,000 bond issue was made. By February 8, the reserve was again down to the alarmingly low point of \$41,340,181. If the \$100,000,000 gold reserve was to be maintained, it was manifest that bond issues were unavoidable.

There is one thing regarding these bond issues that Mr. Cleveland does not explain, and that is why they were made necessary. He does, indeed, say "popular distrust was a perplexing and dangerous element in the situation," but what had caused this popular distrust? A critical examination of all the events that preceded Mr. Cleveland's administration make it quite clear that the great event that caused "popular distrust" was the election of Mr. Cleveland himself. He went into office with the avowed purpose of breaking down the protection policy of the country. All business men knew this meant dealing a deadly blow at a large proportion of the manufacturing industries of the country. Business men distrusted one another, and bankers distrusted them all. New enterprises were at once stopped, old ones curtailed, and everybody ran for shelter. All this destroyed the confidence of everyone in everyone else; and, lastly, it destroyed the confidence of the public in the United States treasury itself. These are the facts that led to the condition Mr. Cleveland described, and made his frequent bond issues necessary. In short, the chief cause of the calamity was the presence in the White House of Mr. Cleveland as the champion of a dangerous economic policy.

## QUESTION BOX

### Are We Less Moral Than Our Ancestors?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I often see in the newspapers assertions or intimations that we are deteriorating in our morals. I do not know if a question as to whether this is true or not, could be answered, or whether facts could be collated that would show the relative morality of our age and that of any previous time. Can you answer, in a general way, the question, if the people of the present day are less moral than the people of, say, several centuries ago?

W. H. JONES.

New York, May 10, 1904.

We frequently hear lamentations about the degeneracy of morality in modern times. Those who have become possessed with the idea that wealth is dangerous to morality think they see that every generation sinks lower and lower in what they call "materialism," but which is really social welfare. They seem to assume that the moral standard of the community is being lowered, particularly, among the well-to-do classes.

Without seeking to give the impression that in respect to personal character and social morality, we are inferior to our predecessors of a century ago, it is safe to say that those who assume this position do not take the pains to examine the history of society before modern "materialism" so-called made its appearance. History is replete with evidence that every generation looks backward to an era that it considers a sort of golden age. On everything that goes to make up our ideal of civilization, it is said that we are deteriorating. In the time of Elizabeth the English people



are supposed to have been very religious, that being the period of the establishment of the Protestant Reformation. Yet we are told (Goadby's *The England of Shakespeare*) that "many churches were closed, and there were hundreds of parishes without incumbents, devoting the Sunday to sports and licentiousness. . . . Armed men met in the churchyard and wrangled or shot pigeons with hand-gun, pedlers sold their wares in the church porches during service. Morrice dancers excited inattention and wantonness by their presence in costume, so as to be ready for the frolics which generally followed prayers. . . . The church ales, in which God's house was turned into a drinking shop for profit—the ale having been brewed by the churchwardens for sale—led to abominable orgies."

The Bishop of Durham is credited with saying (Aikin's *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*): "No place hath been more abused than Paul's hath been. . . . The south alley was for usury and popery, the north for simony, and the horse fair in the midst for all kinds of bargains, meetings, brawlings, murders, conspiracies. The front for ordinary payments of money, as well known to all men as the beggar knows his dish. . . . So that without and within, above the ground and under, over the roof and beneath, from the top of the steeple and spire down to the low floor, not one spot was free from wickedness."

D'Israeli, in his *Curiosities of Literature*, quotes Erasmus as giving the following account of English dirtiness. Describing the condition of the well-to-do, he says, "The floors are commonly of clay, strewed with rushes, under which lies unmolested an ancient collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, spittle, excrement of dogs and cats, and everything that is nasty."

For squalor, debauchery, irreligion, and all that is low in

personal and social character, we have nothing in modern society that approaches this. What we find in our dens of vice, seems to have been a part of the common custom in the religious era of Elizabeth.

If we come down to the eighteenth and nineteenth century, we find that this coarse immorality among the well-to-do diminishes; but even in the early part of the last century, both in England and in this country, conduct, against which present-day society would be up in arms, was quite common. In truth, our public men—our rich men—in morality and social decency are as much above those of the times of Washington and Jefferson as the England of the nineteenth century was above the England of the sixteenth.

The fact is that in all the important lines of personal, social, and political life, the general standard of character is lifted higher by every generation and every decade of material advancement. All in all, industrialism is giving the highest, most humane, and altruistic civilization the world has ever known.

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#### Foreign Dictation as to Shipping Legislation.

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Can any facts be given to show that foreign interests, in any of our seaports, are interfering with proper shipping legislation, or are meditating serious opposition thereto?

WM. WALLACE.

As our shipping interests are in a state of decay, as to our foreign trade, it is quite natural that rivals should oppose its ever getting on its keel again. It is rather bold, however, for a guest to shut his entertainer out of his own house.

The New York Maritime Exchange Association, organized thirty years ago, consists of 1071 members, two-thirds of whom represent foreign interests, as our foreign

transportation is 92 per cent. done by foreign shipowners. The majority has hitherto permitted Americans to serve as officers, perhaps for appearance sake, but lately the foreign element has resented certain proceedings of the directors in behalf of bills in Congress looking to the securing of the rights of American vessel-owners in the Philippine trade with the United States. The New York *Daily Commercial* says: "Mr. Geo. L. Woolley, a subject of King Edward VII, and candidate for president of the association, gives the following as one of the reasons why the foreign element has determined hereafter to control the sentiment of the Exchange:"

We are opposed to the present president being reelected, because he favors the control by American tonnage of the transport trade, in other words, the carrying of government supplies in American ships. He favors measures in Congress, "you know," arranging things so merchandise can be shipped to the Philippines only in American bottoms. Now 90 per cent. of the business is controlled by English tonnage and, of course, we don't want to have that changed.

The purpose of the foreign opposition to an American rule of the Exchange is thus acknowledged to be, to prevent it from exerting its influence on Congress in behalf of the upbuilding of our marine, because this militates against continued foreign exploitation. It remains to be seen how successful the foreign interest will be in the election about to come off. Some years ago an agent of a British shipping house had been twenty years president of the Philadelphia Maritime Exchange. Although unnaturalized and without color of right, he requested political appointments or protested against them as the interest of his people at home seemed to demand.

These facts have a decided foreign color; yet they show what is universally true, that whatever people have a vested interest, they will try directly or indirectly to influence the



government. That was true of the Outlanders in the Transvaal, it is true of England in India and Egypt, or Russia in Manchuria, it is true everywhere. Human interest and political government everywhere follow industrial investment.

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### Friendship in Trade

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Will you kindly cite me, if you can, to any case where friendship exists or has existed in commerce between different countries? I know, of course, that nations at enmity with each other naturally seek to have little intercourse, but does the reverse rule obtain?

M. E. B.

Merchants and shipowners agree that abroad, and at home, business often goes by favor. An instance of this has late by been brought to the attention of a committee of the House of Representatives, by I. E. Thayer, a shipowner of San Francisco. In giving an interesting history of the growth of the trade of the Hawaiian Islands before and after they became annexed he said:

There has been one bright page in the history of American shipping, and that page refers to its history in connection with our trade with the Hawaiian Islands. I have been familiar with that trade for forty years. It originated upon the occasion of the missionaries taking from Boston to the islands the American flag and planting in the Hawaiian people an American interest and a reverence for our flag. At a later period the whaler came to the front and made a rendezvous for one of the most important industries in the world in Hawaii. The connection with the continent was by way of San Francisco. The entire business of the islands was done in four little barks of about 350 tons each. They carried a cargo of 500 tons each loaded in San Francisco, and made practically four round trips a year.

Each ship carried 2000 tons, and the four ships carried

8000 tons, all American goods, to the islands, and brought back in those days a little whale oil and a small quantity of molasses and a few other articles. With these ships running there, with the introduction of American capital that business began to grow. It is true that at this time these islands were not American territory. At the same time American interests predominated in the islands, and up to the time of annexation foreign ships could be employed in the Hawaiian-Island trade, but they were not. With the exception of now and then a ship coming out to Hackfeldt & Co., from Germany, with German goods, and with perhaps some English goods, coming out to Davis & Co., there were comparatively very few foreign ships in the port of Hawaii.

All those years the world over has found our flag waning everywhere but in the harbor of Hawaii. Although it was foreign territory, in the harbor of Hawaii our flag was predominant. I have seen the growth of the shipping in the harbor of Hawaii from those four little barks, carrying 8000 tons of merchandise a year, until we are not surprised to see 8000 tons go out of San Francisco in a single day for that port, and see it repeated time and time again. We have out of that influence developed the Pacific coast ship, which is unlike your Atlantic ship; a Pacific coast ship suited to the trade. The influence exerted on the ship-builder, the man who produces the tonnage that carries our flag, has been incalculable. The Hawaiian Islands have been a bonanza for the American shipping on the Pacific coast.

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### Why a Rise in Rent Forces Wages Up

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—According to your philosophy, does the rise of rents raise the standard of living by making the working people demand more wages? Of course, those who live in suburban towns, or are otherwise partly delivered from the increased rents, would follow any demand for increased wages. If so, the rise is not an unmixed evil.

BOLTON HALL.

New York.

Unquestionably, increase of house rent has the effect upon the laborers of impelling the demand for higher wages. Increased rent is like any other increase of expenditure. If rent could be abolished, wages would soon fall to the cost of living without rent. That is one of the reasons why wages are higher in cities than in the country. It has for years been the problem with the trade-unions how to keep the union rate as high in Brooklyn and Philadelphia as in New York. No amount of organizing has been able to do it, for the reason that rents are lower in Brooklyn and Philadelphia than in New York. Of course, the raising of rent is at first a hardship, but it is an increased expense and will as surely result in a persistent, and if necessary violent demand for a rise in wages, as would the increase in the cost of food or any other condition affecting either the standard of living or the cost of living.

Economic adjustments are always slow, and in the interim one or the other factor is at a disadvantage. If prices or rent, or any other items of cost, rise, the laborers are at a disadvantage during the struggle of adjusting wages to the new cost. On the other hand, if the prices fall, laborers would get the benefit of the difference in the interim, but they would surely reach an equilibrium. It is an economic and historical fact that wages follow the necessary expenditure involved in maintaining the laborers' established standard of living. If the standard rises, either by the improved social conditions or by the increase of prices, wages, or rents rise; if the cost of living falls, either by retarding the standard or the lowering of prices, wages fall. Wages are the last to rise, but they are also the last to fall. That is why, in the rise of prices, the laborers are at temporary disadvantage; but in the fall of prices they have a temporary advantage. In the long run, wages are adjusted to the cost.



Mr. Hall is entirely correct in assuming that those who live in suburban towns and work in the city will get a benefit from the rise of wages without the increased rent, provided, however, that the transportation to the suburban homes does not equal the difference in the rent.

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### Right of Free Speech

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—When did the right of free speech and of public meetings begin in England? C. B. M.

According to the best English historians, the first public meeting ever held in England to discuss political subjects, took place in 1769. This shows what immense progress has been made in all phases of human freedom during the last one hundred and fifty years.

## BOOK REVIEWS

EVOLUTION OF THE JAPANESE. By Sidney L. Gulick. Cloth; 457 pages. \$2 net. Fleming H. Revell Co., London and Edinburgh.

Mr. Gulick has written a book that will long be valued as a storehouse of information and first-hand opinions about the Japanese, particularly as to their moral and mental characteristics. This, doubtless, will be the chief, and perhaps sole, value of the book. Although it dissects the Japanese, and holds up to the world all of their weaknesses and vices—somewhat it is feared to the obscuring of their many beautiful virtues—the book is astonishingly disappointing when it is read, from the point of view of the author, as an account of the “evolution” of the most interesting and brilliant race of the Far East.

There is in the book an air, assuredly unintentional, of the making of a great “discovery.” The title itself is a challenge to the average intelligence. Almost every day, since the Japanese have become so conspicuous, some one “discovers” them anew. Some years ago we were having a series of “discoveries” of the Chinese. It is remarkable that more than three thousand years ago Hebrews, Assyrians, Egyptians, and Hindus were also “discovering” the Chinese. Centuries later the Greeks and Romans “discovered” them, and still centuries later other peoples of Europe, and now of America, have in turn “discovered” the Celestials; but all this time China and the Chinese have remained the same, while Babylon and Jerusalem and Nipur and Nineveh and Rome and Athens have fallen. Indeed the Chinaman has not perceptibly changed since he first appeared to Western eyes as a curiosity and a by-word.

The races of the world have been trying to conquer him, or to convert him, ever since; but he remains the same. He taught the Golden Rule (and followed it as well as other peoples have ever followed it) thirteen hundred years before England appeared on the map, and five hundred years before it was taught in the Sermon on the Mount; yet we have only recently "discovered" him.

The same is true as to the island Japanese; only the Japanese are young, in comparison with their brothers of the continent. They have only some twenty-five hundred years of continuous history and unbroken civilization against the unnumbered centuries of China. But the Japanese have not changed materially since they were first seen by Occidentals, who now boast that they have "civilized" Japan. Mr. Gulick, however, thinks that the Japanese have evolved tremendously. He also seems to think that they can be evolved still further, as tomatoes are forced into a high development in hot-houses. His real "discovery" consists in the principle that the Japanese are human beings like ourselves, and that they are, like ourselves and everything else in the world, a product of their environment. Surely it does not need a prophet to tell us such a solemn commonplace and to write so formidable a book about it. He says, very truly, in one place:

Never, perhaps, has the progress of a nation been so manifestly an evolution as distinguished from a revolution. No foreign conquerors have come in with their armies, crushing down the old and building up a new civilization. No magician's wand has been waved over the land to make the people forget the traditions of a thousand years and fall in with those of the new régime.

And again:

The actual process by which Old Japan has been transformed into New Japan is perfectly natural and necessary. It has been a continuous growth; it is not the mere accumulation of external additions; it does not consist alone of the acquisition of the machinery and the institutions of the Occident. It is rather a development from within, based upon already existing ideas and institutions.



Yet he concludes with the following astounding assertion:

Japanese social and psychic evolution have in no respects violated the universal laws of evolution. Japanese personal and other psychic characteristics are the product not of essential, but of social inheritance and social evolution. Japan has recently entered into a new social inheritance from which she is joyfully accepting new conceptions and principles of communal and individual life. These she is working into her social organism.

No one would suspect the sentimental and amazing Japanese of violating a "universal law;" but one must be astounded to have it asserted that what a nation deliberately adopts or borrows from an alien civilization is an "inheritance," and this adoption called an evolutionary process. It seems impossible to explain the present civilization of Japan as the result of "evolution," unless we go to the length of calling everything that is acquired an inheritance; and Mr. Gulick does not hesitate to do this.

The true process of Japanese development is simply a readjustment to meet new conditions, and is not in its nature evolutionary. For instance, when the Japanese adopted rapid-firing guns, armored ships, and European clothes, that was not "inheritance" or "evolution;" it was merely meeting new conditions, just as a man in business adopts the methods of some shrewd competitor who is out-stripping him. The Japanese are a plastic, adaptive, and mobile race, and at every stage in their history they have always shown this readiness to improve their condition by borrowing from others whatever things and ideas they found better than their own. They borrowed customs from Korea, and they borrowed language and art from China, and they are now borrowing arts, institutions, machinery, and ideas from the West; but in every case they have assimilated and made them their own. Every people does this. The English borrowed civilization, language, arts, and poetry from France and Italy. The Japanese have

only been more receptive than other peoples, and have always shown themselves ready to make, whenever necessary, a complete face about, and to fight new battles of civilization along new frontiers.

One defect of the book should be noticed. This is the particularly slovenly way in which the Japanese words are treated. The sign used to indicate contracted syllables, as the French use their circumflex accent, is consistently omitted. This gives to the entire work an air of almost wanton carelessness. These marks are just as necessary in Japanese words as the accents in French or Spanish, and to omit them is to be guilty of either ignorance or slovenliness. It is astonishing that in a work of its importance, and published by such a house, such gross carelessness should have been tolerated.

In conclusion it may be said that, in spite of the many long and portentous books on the Japanese, a more adequate idea of the true spirit and character of the people can be obtained by reading the little work by Dr. Nitobe, called "*Bushidō*. The Soul of Japan," which is translated in English. *Bushidō* means the rules that govern the *Bushi* or *Samurai*, and it is the moral code of Japan today, as it has been for generations.

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JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER. (In "American Men of Letters" Series.) By George R. Carpenter. 16mo, with portrait. \$1.10 net. Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

The biography of a "lean and ascetic" character like Whittier does not usually make interesting reading. There still exists in this country, however, what may be called a Whittier cult, and there are certain souls who still consider the Quaker poet as one of the great ones of the earth. To such admirers this book by Professor Carpenter will be found delightful, interesting, and adequate.

Whittier was a born reformer and had, in a weak body,

something of the spirit of a Hampden; but there was not enough vigor or genius to attain great ideals. It must be regretfully admitted that every year sees him a fast fading figure—"fragile and soon to pass away." Even now only an occasional fine line or two preserves his memory; and the time is not far distant when a few selections in the anthologies will be all that is left of his work. His poetry is always pleasing, but seldom glows, and never has the warmth of immortal fire.

Professor Carpenter sums up his life in the following admirable manner:

After a bitter struggle he had submitted his career to the chances of an extravagant and ill-informed humanitarian movement, and that unselfish act made him for the best years of his life a man of action rather than a man of letters—a reformer, a missionary, a politician, rather than a poet. At thirty-five, he found himself, like Dante, in an obscure wood, searching for the true road, tempted and threatened by the great forces of his time. . . . Once found, he followed it without turning back, and it was not until he was becoming an old man that . . . he could devote himself entirely to letters.

Whittier was a journalist and politician for a few years, and a reformer from 1833 to 1860. His poetic career was confined to the latter half of his life, from 1861 to 1892. The judgment of Walt Whitman will probably be accepted as final—

Whittier's poetry stands for morality . . . as filtered through the positive Puritanical and Quaker filters; is very valuable as a genuine utterance . . . Whittier is rather a grand figure—pretty lean and ascetic—no Greek—also not composite and universal enough for ideal Americanism.

We do not agree with Professor Carpenter's opinion that, of all the war poems produced in the North and South only three may be regarded as of any permanent value—Whitman's "My Captain," Lowell's "Commemoration Ode," and Whittier's "Barbara Frietchie." Whitman's magnificent lyric on Lincoln is so incomparably the greatest war poetry produced in this country that it overshadows every-



thing else. It already has its place among the really great poems of the world. Lowell's Ode will always be a part of American poetry, but chiefly for one or two fine passages; while "Barbara Frietchie" does not seem to have the qualities essential to immortality. It is almost perfect in form; but its false and vicious point of view, and the fact that it says nothing in a way to make it unforgettable, inevitably doom it to oblivion. But other good war poetry was evoked by the great struggle. There are two or three poems, by Southern writers, that may long claim a place in the same anthology that will be Whittier's mausoleum. Among these may be the fine poem on Gettysburg by Thomson; "Maryland, My Maryland," by Randall, and Timrod's exquisite gem on Charleston.

The chief merit of this book is that it brings together in interesting and compact form everything that the general reader will care to know about Whittier, and at the same time it presents a careful and fairly just estimate of his work. No better biography of the Quaker poet could be desired.

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SOCIAL PROGRESS: A YEAR BOOK. By Josiah Strong. \$1.00. The Baker & Taylor Company, New York.

Every reader must have observed the tremendous increase within recent years of the facilities for reference. Cyclopedias, almanacs, year books, and other works of this class have increased to an almost alarming extent. They are so useful to the practical student, and even to the general reader, that one is always tempted to buy them as fast as they issue from the press.

Of almanacs, year books, and cyclopedias, devoted to general statistics, it would have seemed to an ordinary observer that there was already an abundance; but a glance over Social Progress leads to an entirely different conclusion. It is a most valuable and necessary work. While a

great proportion of its statistics may be found in various other almanacs and cyclopedias, it contains much new matter, and is especially valuable because it has brought together a great deal of information concerning social movements that is not accessible in any other publication. Among the general topics treated are vital statistics, commercial and financial statistics, industrial statistics and conditions, reform movements, poverty, crime, and intemperance, and it has a very useful bibliography. One of the most valuable features is a review of social progress abroad. The volume has apparently a complete index, although the book itself is well arranged for quick reference.

This is the first appearance of *Social Progress*, although the completeness of its information indicates careful preparation. It will doubtless be improved from year to year and made still more valuable and indispensable.

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THE IMPERIALIST. By Mrs. Everard Cotes [Sara Jeanette Duncan]. D. Appleton & Co., New York. \$1.50

This is a story of love and politics, chiefly politics. Its interest, to some readers, will probably be found in the politics rather than in the love. As a political novel, it will doubtless find many readers in Canada and in the United States as well as in England. It presents an essentially new treatment of what is known in this country and in England as "Imperialism."

Mrs. Cotes, who is a Canadian, comes home to roost, like the fabulous chicken, after long detours in India, England, and other foreign parts. She is, perhaps, less vivacious in this book than in *Those Delightful Americans* and *An American Girl in London*, but the interest does not fall at any point, even when Dan Cupid yields place to "Joe" Chamberlain.

It is not easy, however alluring it may be, to blend politics and passion, and it is to be doubted if any novelist has fully

succeeded in the attempt. However, the love stories—for there are two distinct ones—in this book will be of sufficient interest for those who worship the young god, while the political part of the work will certainly lay strong hold on the attention of every American and Canadian who may begin its reading. While it is chiefly concerned with Canadian politics, it is Canadian politics that is very closely bound up with American politics, and the fate of Canada is shown to be involved in the fate of the United States. There is a somewhat remarkable show of irritation because of certain British policies that do not suit Canadian ambitions, and there seems also an ever-present sneer at British grandiose assertions in a day when British supremacy and British power and, indeed, British prestige are vanishing.

Of course the chief idea in the book is the recent development of the fever of "Imperialism" as shown in the bombastic policies of Germany, the United States, and Great Britain. This policy Mrs. Cotes hits off very cleverly in the following manner:

The imperial idea was very much at the moment in the public mind; it hung heavily, like a banner, in every newspaper, it was filtering through the slow British consciousness, solidifying as it traveled. In the end it might be expected to arrive at a shape in which the British consciousness must either assimilate it or cast it forth. . . . There was division in the Cabinet, sore travail among private members. The conception being ministerial, the opposition applied itself to the task of abortion, fearing the worst if it should be presented to the country fully formed and featured, the smiling offspring of progress and imagination.

This picture of "Imperialism," and its unreasoned and headlong advocacy by certain bellicose politicians in England, would apply to similar conditions in the United States. It was only by presenting this hideous and perilous policy under the guise of progress and the glorious development of



English or of American civilization that made the hard-headed British and American publics tolerate it.

Those anglophiles who imagine that Great Britain is still the power she was will be amused by the following interesting picture:

England seems to have fallen back on itself, got content to spend the money there is in the country already; and about the only line of commercial activity the stranger sees is the onslaught on that accumulation. London isn't the headquarters for big new developing enterprises any more. If you take out Westminster and Wallingham, London is a collection of traditions and newspaper offices and shops. That sort of thing can't go on forever. Already capital is drawing away to conditions it can find a profit in—steel works in Canada, woolen factories in Australia, jute mills in India. Do you know where the boots came from that shod the troops in South Africa? Cawnpore. The money will go, you know, and that's a fact; the money will go, and the people will go, anyhow. It's only a case of whether England sends them with blessing and profit and greater glory, or whether she lets them slip away in spite of her.

Mrs. Cotes has not an extravagant admiration for the spirit of her own Canadians. Her hero Lorne Murchison thinks that they are "stupid" and terribly "slow," and "more interested in the back garden fence than anything else." Although they are losing their trade and are being slowly gobbled up by the voracious and insatiable "States," what the Canadian really thinks about, according to this commentator, is why the swallows are so late in summer and various aspects and doings of the church hierarchy.

Perhaps Mrs. Cotes's real idea of "Imperialism" is contained in the following:

The imperial idea is far-sighted. England has outlived her own body. Apart from her heart and her history, England is an area where certain trades are carried on—still carried on. In the scrolls of the future it is already written that the center of the Empire must shift—and where, if not to Canada?

But how absurd is any vision that sees in Canada the seat of future empire! It is still more inconceivable that Canada could be the center of British institutions and British power. When the center of the Empire shifts from England, there will be found no resting place for it. By that time, Australia and South Africa will probably be independent countries, India will be Hindu or Russian, and Canada will be either independent or cut up into sovereign states of the United States of America. The course of empire may have a tendency to drift westward, but the British Empire will never cross the Atlantic.

Any one who wishes a fuller and clearer insight into Canadian politics and, indeed, into Canadian life, with some appreciation of the vital relations that will become stronger every day between Canada and the United States, will be greatly gratified by reading this book.

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THE VINEYARD. By John Oliver Hobbes [Mrs. Craigie]. Cloth; 12mo., \$1.50. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

Mrs. Craigie's style and method are well known to this generation of novel readers. She endeared herself to a large and generous public by some of her earlier books, especially *The Gods, Some Mortals, and Lord Wickenham; A School for Saints*, and some others. She possesses the necessary equipment of a fluent and interesting style, and always tells her story, even when it is very tenuous, in a pleasing manner. One of her characteristics is that there must always be a problem—a moral question—and a good liberal coating of religious sentiment. But these things have, perhaps, their use in fiction and appeal possibly to an ever-growing audience. In fact, the novel without a problem, or a moral question, does not seem to stand much chance in this age when many who have not the time, energy, or ability for thought vainly fancy they are thinking, or are in close contact with thought, in reading about some moral problem

handled in three or four hundred pages of very light fiction. Mrs. Craigie, however, is equal to the necessity of blending fiction and morality so admirably that the reader swallows it all with equal gusto. Although the present book contains a great deal about the moral life, there is also a great deal about passion and kisses; and it will therefore, appeal to both wings of the reading public which has found enjoyment in the same sort of thing in James Lane Allen's recent books.

The style of *The Vineyard* is neither deep nor complex. Jennie Sussex, the pretty and clever daughter of a baronet who died impoverished, is teaching at a girl's school in a small town and boarding at Miss Leddle's. The handsome young nephew of Miss Leddle, Gerald Federan, a volunteer in England's inglorious South-African war, winner of the Victoria Cross, and a good rider—an absolute essential in English novels—falls in love with Jennie. The story centers around a commonplace commercial transaction in which Federan is trying to buy an impoverished estate because he thinks there is a deposit of coal on it. This is the Franton estate now in charge of Rachel Franton, the heiress, who is a sickly, egotistic, and hysterical girl, desperately in love with Federan. This double love affair makes complication and interest for the story. Federan buys the estate cheaply in a dishonorable way, but one of his associates runs away with all the money of the syndicate he represents, and the check, which is to pay Rachel for the estate, is dishonored. This dissolves the entire fictitious coterie; Jennie breaks off her engagement with Federan, and goes to Europe with a young artist, Helmyng, and his mother, and presumably marries Helmyng. Federan and Rachel finally become engaged.

It is not a great heart-engaging story, but it is artistically handled, as might be expected from the experienced pen of Mrs. Craigie, and the interest is preserved from beginning to end.



## PROGRESS OF THE MONTH

**The Political Situation** The political situation has not tended to clarification within the last month. The chief question among the Republicans is still the choice of a Vice-president, as the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt is conclusively settled. Attention is called elsewhere to the difficulty that the party is having in finding any one who will accept the Vice-presidential nomination. The latest among many to whom it has been offered is Representative Hitt of Illinois, who has said he was honored by the suggestion.

With the Democrats there is even more difficulty as the selection even of a head of the ticket is greatly in doubt. Judge Parker of New York still leads in the number of instructed delegates, but it is almost certain that he will not go to the convention with a two-thirds majority, which is necessary according to Democratic precedent. The Hearst "boom" seems doomed to early explosion. Senator Gorman has now, as always, a strong following, and there is no reason why the hopes of his friends that the convention may turn to him may not be realized. Mr. Olney is personally very strong with the rank and file of the Democrats, but his affiliations with Mr. Cleveland would make him objectionable to the Bryan wing of the party.

It will be left to the convention itself, therefore, to clarify the situation, and there will probably be doubt, up to the moment of the actual nomination, as to who will lead the Democratic party in the campaign.

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**The Undesired Vice-presidency** Perhaps the most undesirable public office in the United States is that of Vice-president. It is used now as a political closet into which are thrust certain public characters who have some claim upon the party and who are yet not desired in public place. This was the case with Mr. Roosevelt, who himself revolted against his selection by the leaders of

the convention. He can not, therefore, expect that men of prominence, like Cannon and Fairbanks, would be eager to accept this secondary and inglorious rôle. It is only in rare cases that a Vice-president ever becomes anything else. As he is nothing as Vice-president, and as his hope of future preferment is blasted by his selection for this post, the second place on the ticket is not a desirable one.

Mr. Roosevelt, however, has had unusual difficulty in getting a "running mate." Never before was the position hawked about the streets of the capital and at State conventions, and it is almost inconceivable that any prominent politician would now voluntarily accept it. It must be thrust upon him, and thrust with such force that it can not be avoided without fatally prejudicing future hopes. The dignity of the office has been materially lowered by the "auctioneering," which has not yet proved successful.

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**Chairman of the  
National Republican  
Committee**

This office has been about as difficult to fill as that of Vice-president. Usually it presents a great attraction to aspiring politicians as it gives them an unequalled point of vantage. From the head of this powerful committee, an adroit man may readily carve out his own path to political fortune; and in no other post, unless it be the Speakership of the House, can a man wield so great an influence upon public affairs and public policy. But Mr. Roosevelt has been almost at his wits' end to obtain a National Chairman because, according to common report it is generally believed that a man in this position would be a mere figure-head and would receive no credit for victory and all the opprobrium of defeat. Whether this be the reason or not, the post has been, as currently reported, offered to almost every prominent politician in the country, and declined.

At the time of going to press it is generally believed that Mr. George B. Cortelyou, Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, has been "selected" as the Chairman of the National Committee. This is a very important post for a young man of so little political experience, and would be a very great honor to him if it had come in the ordinary course. Mr. Cortelyou was a Democrat up to 1892, when,

it is said, he voted for Cleveland; but not being able to approve the heresies of W. J. Bryan he went into the Republican camp and voted for Mr. McKinley. He was Secretary to Mr. McKinley and afterward to Mr. Roosevelt, and Mr. Roosevelt, it is believed, appointed him Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor in fulfilment of a promise made by his predecessor.

An astonishing rumor accompanying that of the selection of Mr. Cortelyou is to the effect that, upon the completion of his duties as National Chairman, he is to be appointed Postmaster-general. While the entire plan, if indeed such a plan has been adopted, smacks of extreme personal politics, there is no doubt that in Mr. Cortelyou the National Committee would have an energetic and efficient chairman and the Post-office Department a chief of good executive ability and unquestioned probity.

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**W. Bourke Cockran  
and the Campaign  
of 1896**

Mr. Cockran had no difficulty in taking the center of the stage upon his return to Congress. In a series of speeches he drew upon himself the largest share of Democratic applause and of Republican vituperation. His speech on the Tariff was especially eloquent, fiery, and, temporarily, effective; but it seems probable that Mr. Cockran will be hoist by his own petar.

In his torrent of eloquent denunciation of the tariff policy he aroused the wrath of Mr. Dalzell, who asked if Mr. Cockran entertained the same views on the tariff at the present time as he did when he was supporting Mr. McKinley in 1896. A debate followed in which Mr. Cockran said that, while he had supported the protective policy in 1896 for principle, Mr. Dalzell and others had supported it for profit. Mr. Dalzell retorted that it was generally supposed that Mr. Cockran had been paid for his services.

The *Hartford Times* publishes the following statement prepared by Major John Byrne of the Democratic Sound Money League of 1896.

"Governor Flower and I hit on Mr. Cockran as the only man who could effectively reply to Mr. Bryan, and we determined to get him if we could. Mr. Cockran happened



to be in Europe. Governor Flower sent him a cable asking him to come home, and he did.

"He arrived about August 1, and Governor Flower and I met him at the gang-plank. Governor Flower had said on the way down that he did not know what arrangements Mr. Cockran would want made, but Mr. Cockran settled that for himself. When he was introduced to me and I had told him how we had revolted against Bryanism and wanted to make a fight for honest money, he said quickly:

"Major Byrne, if you are a Republican, or if the league has any connection with the Republican organization, I can't do it. If it is not, I will speak only on one condition—that is, that I receive no compensation and am allowed to pay all my own expenses."

"And that was the bargain that was made then and there. Mr. Cockran spoke the first time in Madison Square Garden. Afterward, under my management, he made a tour of nineteen States, speaking in all the big cities. He never cost the league a single dollar. Railroad fares, hotel expenses, and everything else he paid out of his own pocket."

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**The United States  
on the Isthmus**

The situation on the Isthmus of Panamá is a remarkable one. It is doubtful if any similar condition ever existed in a semi-colonial possession or "zone." For a narrow strip running across a thin isthmus, the United States territory in the Republic of Panamá will be the most tremendously governed portion of land on the globe. First, or last, there is the Governor of Panamá, General Davis; then there is the Isthmian Canal Commission; then there is the Secretary of War; and, finally, there is the President of the United States. It is difficult to see what will be the duties of the Governor, or of the Commission, or of the Secretary of War. Mr. Roosevelt's duties are plain, as marked out by his own words and by his well known characteristics. He will govern, and the others will draw various salaries and occupy various dignities. It is remarkable that Congress should have adjourned and left the situation in such a plight, practically making the President an autocrat and despot over a portion of American territory.

It was thought at first that the Commission was to be everything and do everything. But this has proved a vain fancy; for the Commission, although having in its membership some of the ablest engineers of the day, has appointed an outside engineer to do the work. This engineer gets half as much salary as the President of the United States. It was also thought that the Commission was to govern the Isthmus; but a governor has been appointed, with the understanding that above this governor will tower the Secretary of War and above the Secretary, the dominant personality of Mr. Roosevelt.

It seems a very complicated arrangement for spending two or three hundred million dollars, and an exceedingly minute division of a small dignity; but it is to be supposed that Americans will be satisfied if the ditch is dug within a reasonable time. This expectation, however, has received a damper by the cool announcement of the Commission that probably two years will be consumed in preliminary surveys and calculations.

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**Church and State  
in France**

The controversy between the clericals and the anti-clericals in France has been made more acute by the friendly visit of President Loubet to the King of Italy, and by the unreasonable protest of the Vatican. There now seems no doubt that the action of the Vatican in making this protest was extremely bad politics, as the President of France has a perfect right to visit the Quirinal without going to the Vatican, and that the protest itself has so aroused the indignation of France it will precipitate the solution of the question of the severance of Church and State in the Republic. The Papacy has but played into the hands of Premier Combes, who will adroitly take every advantage of the situation so created. If recent events shall bring about the separation of Church and State in France, all the heart-burnings caused by them will be well worth while.

The paragraph in this department in the May number on "France and the Church" has been misinterpreted by one of our readers into a slur upon the Catholic church. No such slur was intended, and the separation of Church and

State in England, or in Russia, or anywhere else in the world, would be as welcome to us as it would be if it happened in France—whether the Church be Anglican, Catholic, Greek, or anything else whatsoever. The separation of Church and State is a consummation devoutly to be wished, whenever and wherever it occurs.

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**The Russo-Japanese  
War**

The progress of the war in the Orient has been remarkably slow during the first few months. This was to have been expected from the nature of the operations on land. On sea events passed swiftly enough to bewilder not only the Russians but the world. Manchuria is a tremendous expanse of territory, and the Russian line is both long and easily defensible and is supplied with munitions of war by a railway thoroughly protected. The Russians proved to be not at all ready when Gen. Kuroki hurled his columns across the Yalu and struck the strongly entrenched forces of Gen. Zassalich. The Japanese were ready to move, but they had a long distance to cover before they could deliver an effective blow. That they successfully and rapidly covered this distance and delivered a blow which shook the Tsar on his throne in Petersburg is now well known.

The first important land action was fought May 1 on the heights of Kiu-lien-cheng. While comparatively a small affair, it was one of the most strategically brilliant actions in history. If England had won such a victory in the Boer war the winner of it would have been made an earl and given a big pension for life. The Japanese forces on both sides of the Yalu numbered probably 60,000, but General Kuroki estimated that 30,000 would be enough for the purpose. These 30,000 boldly crossed the Yalu in the face of about 10,000 or 15,000 Russians, stormed the heights of Kiu-lien-cheng, waded the ice-cold Ai breast-deep, and drove the Russians from almost inaccessible heights and out of their trenches. The charge of the Japanese was magnificent and irresistible. They used the bayonet whenever they came within reach of their enemy and stopped at nothing until the Russian forces were almost annihilated.



The Russians boasted that they had inflicted tremendous losses upon the Japanese, but official reports show that the Japanese lost only 223 killed and 816 wounded, a total of 1039, and the Russians lost 3000, or three for one. The Japanese buried 1363 Russians, and captured 623. Even estimating that all of the prisoners were wounded, there must have been at least two men wounded for every man killed, which would bring the Russian loss up to at least 3000. The Russians lost, also, 29 guns and a large quantity of ammunition and supplies.

General Kuroki followed up this decisive victory by a rapid march to Feng-wang-cheng, where more prisoners and ammunition were captured. The Japanese are now moving on Liao-yang in three columns, the most northern one marching along the road to Mukden and the southern one on the road to Hai-cheng. Unless General Kuropatkin retreats with some precipitancy, he may be forced soon to give battle at great disadvantage.

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**A Record of the Russo-Japanese War** War between Japan and Russia was known to be inevitable as long ago as 1895, after

Japan had been forced by the united diplomatic action of Russia, Germany, and France to give up the Liao-tung peninsula, upon which are Dalny, the only ice-free port that Russia has ever possessed, and Port Arthur, believed by the Russians to be the Gibraltar of the Far East and the key to Russian power on the Pacific. Almost immediately after Japan peacefully gave back to China the Liao-tung peninsula, Russia forced China to give to her the lower portion of it, and she immediately spent millions of dollars in making Port Arthur "impregnable" and transformed Talien-wan, the predecessor of Dalny, into a magnificent city, with the hope of making it the commercial metropolis of the Far East.

Japan at once began preparations for the inevitable hour when she must fight or perish, and quietly created a splendid and efficient navy and a marvelously well-trained and spirited army. One of the most astonishing revelations of the war was that Europe, entrenched in its great military camps, knew absolutely nothing about this quiet but tre-

mendous preparation of Japan. Up to the last moment, it was confidently asserted that the inexperienced Russian navy would sweep the veteran and long-trained Japanese navy from Eastern waters; and that if the Japanese ever landed in Asia the Russians would crush them by weight of numbers and by superior physique and fighting qualities. A few days were enough to decide the fate of the Russian fleets in the Orient, and a few weeks have shown that the Russian army has not its boasted strength in the Far East and has lost much of the good fighting quality it once possessed.

Russia, although its leading men must have known that war would follow the aggressive course of Russian diplomacy in Manchuria, knew nothing of the military strength, resourcefulness, perfect skill, and matchless morale of the Japanese. Russia also waited too long to prepare for war; and, in fact, her contumacious conduct of the negotiations with Tōkyō with respect to the evacuation of Manchuria was due to the tardy plan of throwing into Manchuria a force that would overawe Japan and win, by a show of military strength, a diplomatic victory. Both Russia and the world were completely, but unnecessarily, surprised by the coolness with which Japan broke off hopeless negotiations and began the war.

A chronological record of the principal events of the war up to May 15 follows. This record will be continued and brought up to date from month to month.

#### *PRINCIPLE EVENTS IN THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR*

January 8.—Japan sends a diplomatic note to Russia as to the evacuation of Manchuria and the settlement of other questions.

February 1.—Russia mobilizes the Manchurian reserves.

February 3.—Conference of the "Elder Statesmen" in Tōkyō decides upon the war policy of Japan.

February 6.—Japan withdraws her legation from Petersburg and notifies Russia of the severance of diplomatic relations. The Russian Minister is recalled from Tōkyō.

February 8.—Actual commencement of hostilities. Admiral Togo attacks the Russian fleet and shore batteries at Port Arthur, and sinks with torpedoes the Russian battleships Tsarevich and Retvizan and the protected cruiser Pallada.

February 9.—Admiral Togo again attacks Port Arthur and the Rus-

sian fleet, seriously damaging the battleship *Poltava* and the cruisers *Novik*, *Diana*, and *Askold*; only slight loss of life on each side—Admiral Uriu attacks and destroys the Russian cruisers *Variag* and *Korietz* at Chemulpho, Korea; the Russians lost 500 men.

February 10.—The Tsar proclaims war with Japan—The United States approaches both Russia and Japan with regard to the neutralization of China during the war.—Viceroy Admiral Alexiev is appointed to supreme command of Russia's land and naval forces in the Far East.

February 13.—China issues a proclamation of neutrality.

February 19.—The Russian gunboat *Manjur* is shut up in Shanghai harbor by the Japanese cruiser *Akitsushima*. It is afterward dismantled to avoid being destroyed by the the Japanese cruiser.

February 22.—Vice-admiral Makarov is appointed to command the Russian Pacific fleet.

February 23.—General Kuropatkin, Russian Minister of war, is ordered to Manchuria to take supreme command of the Russian land forces.

February 24.—The Japanese make an heroic endeavor to block Port Arthur by sinking ships at entrance, and partly succeed.

February 28.—Russia declares coal and other fuel contraband.

March 1.—The Japanese general staff leaves Japan for Chemulpho, Korea.

March 6.—The Japanese fleet of five battleships and two cruisers bombard Vladivostok.

March 8.—Admiral Makarov arrives at Dalny—Marquis Itō is sent as Special Japanese Envoy to Korea and strengthens the Japanese position there.

March 11.—The Japanese sink a Russian torpedo-boat destroyer at Port Arthur.

March 17.—The Russian torpedo-boat *Skorri* is blown up at Port Arthur by a Russian mine.

March 21.—The new Japanese Diet approves the war.

March 28.—A Cossack force under General Mischenko is defeated by the Japanese at Chung-ju.

March 30.—The Japanese Diet passes all necessary measures for war revenue.

April 6.—General Kuropatkin arrives at Niuchwang.

April 13.—The Russian first-class battleship *Petropavlovsk* is sunk by the Japanese in battle at the entrance of Porth Arthur, and Admiral Makarov with 700 men, including the famous Russian painter Vereschagin, are lost—The Russian torpedo-boat destroyer *Bezstrashni* is sunk at Port Arthur; the Russian battleship *Pobieda* is injured by a mine or a Japanese torpedo.



April 19.—Admiral Alexiev asks to be relieved of the Vice-royalty and command in the Far East.

April 25.—The Russian Vladivostok squadron enters the port of Gensan, Korea, and sinks a small Japanese steamer—The Japanese begin the crossing of the Yalu.

April 26.—The Russian Vladivostok squadron sinks the Japanese troop-ship *Kenshyu* with a loss of 73 men, the Japanese dying rather than surrender.

April 26.—Gen. Kuroki throws additional forces across the Yalu.

April 27.—Admiral Skridlov leaves Petersburg to take the place of Admiral Makarov.

April 29.—The Russian squadron reenters Vladivostok and is shut in by the Japanese.

May 1.—First important action on land. Kuroki's army, estimated at 30,000, completes its passage of the Yalu, and defeats the Russian army under Gen. Zassalich, supposed to be 10,000 to 12,000 strong. The Japanese lost some 1000 men killed and wounded, while the Russians lost probably 3000.

May 2.—General Kuroki drives the Russians from Hamatan, and marches toward Feng-wang-cheng.

May 3.—Admiral Togo blocks Port Arthur after a series of attempts unparalleled for heroism and self-sacrifice.

May 6.—A Japanese army of about 50,000 lands at Pitse-wo on the east side of the Liao-tung peninsula, and marches across and cuts the railway between Port Arthur and Mukden. Landings of other Japanese forces were made on the west side of the peninsula.

May 7.—The Russians abandon Feng-wang-cheng on the approach of General Kuroki's army.

May 8.—The Russians begin the evacuation of Niuchwang by dismantling the forts and removing the guns.

May 9.—Russia calls out 100,000 reserves.

May 12.—The Russians destroy Dalny—A Russian loan of \$150,000,000 and a Japanese loan of \$50,000,000 are successfully placed.

May 13.—A Japanese torpedo-boat is accidentally blown up at Dalny.

May 14.—General Kuroki reports the Japanese have advanced 60 miles northeast of Feng-wang-cheng.

#### The Destruction of Dalny

It is not at all surprising, although the news came as an inevitable shock, that the Russians should destroy Dalny rather than let it fall a rich treasure into the hands of the Japanese. Dalny was probably the center of more Russian hopes and visions than any other single point in the world. Here at least,

after centuries of struggle, Russia had emerged from forest and tundra and steppe, into the open highway of nations at an ice-free port. The Empire immediately spent millions upon millions to build up an ideal seaport and commercial metropolis. Situated upon a beautiful and extensive bay, and having abundance of quiet and deep water, Dalny seemed destined to become a great port for the transit of trade into and out of Manchuria and Siberia. In order to increase these great natural facilities, Russia built extensive docks and warehouses, connecting them by a complete network of railway with the line extending from Port Arthur to Harbin and thence to Moscow, five thousand miles away.

It was exactly in keeping with the doggedness of the Russian character that, rather than let this magnificent city and port enrich and reenforce the foe, it should be ruthlessly destroyed. Millions of money, years of toil, and centuries of dreaming have all disappeared in the smoke of a hundred explosions that have obliterated Dalny from the face of the earth. In a like manner Moscow, the sacred capital of Russia and the city dearest to the Russian heart, was sacrificed rather than let it fall into the hands of Napoleon. In the light of such an example, it was to be expected that there should be no hesitation in the lesser sacrifice of Dalny.

But the sacrifice seems almost vain and possibly vain-glorious. It seems ridiculous that the mighty power of Russia should stoop to play the martyr in the face of a handful of Japanese whom the Tsar himself has called "semi-barbarians." In this view, the sacrifice is vainglorious. It can not harm the Japanese in any way, and it merely deprives them for a while of landing facilities at Talien-wan, as the Japanese formerly called it, and as they will call it again. The resourceful Japanese will soon clear the harbor of débris as they have cleared it of the Russians; and, once fallen into the hands of the most brilliant and unconquerable fighters in modern history, there seems little chance that it will soon again get into the hands of Russia.







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